



**Source Material for a History of
the Freedom Movement**

GOA FREEDOM STRUGGLE

VIS-A-VIS

MAHARASHTRA

1946-1960-1961

VOL. VIII-PART I

VOL. VIII-PART II

Edited by : Dr. B. G. Kunte

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

(Collected from Maharashtra Government Records)

PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains two parts of Volume VIII "Goa Freedom Struggle Vis-a-Vis Maharashtra" published in 1978. This volume was published by Dr. B. G. Kunte.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 26th January 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

GOA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

IV

Bombay City, Special Branch (I) C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a public meeting was held on January 1, 1955, at the Kamathi Chawl, Parbhadevi, Bombay, when about 200 persons attended and Shri Madhukar R. Saple presided. Shri Mahadeo Shastri Joshi, Peter Alvares and the president addressed the gathering.

Shri Joshi described the history of Goa and expressed that the people of Goa should be freed from the yoke of the Portuguese slavery. Shri Peter Alvares expressed that every Indian should be at liberty to participate in the liberation movement of Goa and expressed dislike for the policy of the Prime Minister of India, banning non-Goans from taking part in the movement. In conclusion, he stated that the people did not want to use force for liberating the Portuguese Pockets but that all Indians should be allowed to participate in the liberation movement.

Below an open letter to the members and workers issued by the Convener Dr. J. C. Carvalho, on behalf of the Provisional Committee, National Congress (Goa).

Secret

No. 750/H

Special Branch, C.I.D.

Bombay 2nd January 19155.

Forwarded with compliments to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Services Department, Bombay for information.

For Commissioner of Police,
Bombay.

An open letter to members and workers of National Congress (Goa)

Dear Friends,

Goa's liberation movement led by the National Congress (Goa) in 1946 has now, after Dadra and Nagarhavelli, entered a new phase. These events have made it clear that though the problem of Goa appeared at first to be a minor matter, complications beyond our anticipation have arisen in the international as well as in the national sphere.

The importance which it has now assumed, demands of us a greater endeavour, a higher ideological and organisational equipment if we are to face up to our responsibility of speeding up the solution of the problem which has been made a pawn on the chess board of intriguing international policies. In the light of these developments, our struggle will have to be reorganised and carried on for the present only by the Goans both inside and outside Goa, Any external help from Indian political parties will be effective only if we Goans, organise our own internal strength both organizationally and on a mass basis, particularly on this side of the frontier.

Our Primary concern, therefore, should be to build up this strength in such a manner that organizational dynamism is linked with broadbased democratic functions. Individual dynamism without democracy leads to dictatorship and democracy without dynamism leads to lethargy and frustration. We must avoid both these conditions. It is, therefore, our responsibility to see that personal ambitions in our organization do not develop into dictatorship and to promote a feeling among the rank and file, that our organization stands for democracy, where the common man will have the fullest opportunity to rise to his full height and dignity.

It is only this reorientation which will give us the necessary moral and mental equipment to face our task. Though our struggle for the present is directed towards liberation from foreign domination, it must be regarded potentially as a renaissance movement and therefore, our organization should be designed to function and develop both ideologically and organizationally, as an instrument of the moral and spiritual as well as the political emancipation of Goans.

The National Congress, Goa is an organization open to all Goans and was founded not to give a prop to personalities but to vindicate an Ideal, namely, the liberation and the emancipation of the Goan people. But, today we have fallen far short of our noble purpose. Dictatorship and personal vanity has taken control.

If any progress has been achieved, it has been, in spite of the personal, paralysing influences, which like a cancer in the bud have, been eating into the vitality of the Congress. We, therefore, salute all our brethren whose noble sacrifice and courage have kindled after Dadra and Nagarhaveli, high expectations in the hearts of Goans here and in Goa.

After the stirring events of this last few months our struggle should have mounted to an irresistible finale. But, instead, there is a deadly pause.

If we are to reactivate and intensify the movement it is necessary in the interval, to take stock of the situation, to gather our forces together, to reorganise our resources and above all to recognize and remove the cause which has brought us to the present sorry pass.

The first is this, Shri Peter Alvares and his advisers assuming the sole monopoly of leading the movement in Goa ignored Goans entirely and relied on non-Goan followers of a particular Indian Political Party to march into Goa on the 15th of August. They could not count on more than ten Goans in Bombay and when the Prime Minister issued a ban, both wise and politic, on the entry of non-Goans into Goa, they were non-plussed. They boasted and much advertised march of thousands and hundreds of volunteers to Goa failed to materialise and hereby exposed our sacred cause to the ridicule of the world.

They did not take members of the Congress into their confidence as to their plans or campaign. The All Goa Congress Committee, the main policy making body of the Congress, was not even constituted as it should have been at or soon after the Annual Session of 1953; much less was it even consulted. Dictatorship and personal vanity took control of the leadership with disastrous result.

This was the proximate cause of the deadly pause which has followed the 15th of August. But events within the Congress had long before this been leading up to it. Shri Peter Alvares and his coterie who are all members of an Indian political party were, under Art. 3 of the Constitution, not even entitled to be members of the National Congress (Goa). Having crept in unconstitutionally they sought to consolidate their position by trying at the Annual

Session of 1953 to amend Art. 5 of the constitution so as to abolish all the branches of the Congress, including, Bombay, Poona, Belgaum and Castle Rock and Sawantwadi. Once elected they would thus have no more elections to face in the only branches of the Congress outside Goa. In Goa no branches can function in the circumstances prevailing, Thus their dictatorship would be firmly in the saddle.

Today sensing the growing disaffection and opposition in Bombay and the branches, they are even more reluctant to face an election. They, therefore, claim to be functioning under the authority of the All Goa Congress Committee. Having no constitutional authority to function after the expiry of their term in June 1954, they have made to themselves a straw figure of authority. Between the 26th and the 29th September 1954, four months after the election for the Annual Session of 1954 were overdue, they pretended to elect a Committee from among last year's delegates and now call it the All Goa Congress Committee, the main policy-making body of the Congress. This is a palpable fraud upon the members of the National Congress Goa. They have published a statement that they are going to hold a meeting of this fake body in the second week of December 1954 to consider the calling of a Session earlier than April 1955 as previously decided by the same body. That this body had decided to hold the elections in April is itself a travesty of the truth. What they had proposed to decide at a so-called meeting in Belgaum on 3rd of October 1954 was an election in which the voters in Goa would be free to take part. Knowing as we do that the members in Goa, if any can never participate in any election until after liberation, the enormity of this attempt at deception is clear.

This is dictatorship firmly in the seat of power. Can this be tolerated? They say that it is not to be expected that fresh elections should take place in the State of emergency which is prevailing. That is always the favourite argument of dictatorship seeking excuses to justify the excesses and throw dust in the eyes of public. There is no emergency. The movement is at a stand still. Shri Peter Alvares and his coterie are still waiting in the hope that the ban against the entry of non-Goans will be lifted. Until then we must wait with folded hands.

Even if the ban is lifted it will be a shame to us Goans if non-Goans rush in, under the banner of any Indian political Party to carry out a task which is essentially ours. As the Prime Minister stated in Parliament justifying his ban on non-Goans, the liberation of Goa is primarily a Goan concern and Goan effort in this should not be allowed to be eclipsed by its supporters.

We have to restore organizational dynamism to the National Congress (Goa). The personal vanity of Shri Peter Alvares and his coterie of advisers alone stand in the way. That is why Bombay, Belgaum and the other branches have passed resolutions expressing no confidence in him and repudiating his so called All Goa Congress Committee. Nevertheless, we had called Shri Peter Alvares to meet us to seek a way out. Private efforts have been made. Appeal even by important persons have also been made. All this has failed to persuade Shri Peter Alvares and coterie to see the light.

When all attempts at conciliation are in vain ; when the President and office bearers of a democratic organization stubbornly cling to office and refuse to face fresh elections the members have only two courses open to them : one is to move the High Court for an injunction restraining these office bearers from continuing to function unconstitutionally ; such a course would cripple the organization ; the second course is for the members to take control of the Congress and carry out the requirements of the constitution ; this is their constitutional right and the members of the National Congress (Goa) have adopted the latter course.

At a convention of members held on the 6th of November 1954 with the specific support of the branches outside Goa, a Provisional Committee has been appointed to conduct the business of the Congress until an election which will be shortly announced. It is the purpose of this committee to re-organise the Congress so as to enlist the active co-operation of all elements including the many veteran workers and leaders of the Congress who laboured during the last eight years to build it up to the position of prestige it now occupies, veterans, who have been kept out by the dictatorial policies of Shri Peter Alvares and his Socialist supporters. It is proposed that when the election is held no one will be eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress who does not sign a pledge that he will personally go to Goa to offer *satyagraha*. This will repair the damage to our good name and intensify the struggle and bring about the organizational dynamism which will inspire every member high or low to suffer and sacrifice.

We shall ignore Shri Peter Alvares as one who has finished his term of office and by his vanity and stubbornness jeopardised both the Congress and the cause of Goa.

7th January 1955.

Yours fraternally,
on behalf of the Provisional Com.,
The National Congress, Goa.
Dr. J. C. CARVALHO,
Convener.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa) Dissident Group

Shri S. B. D'Silva of the National Congress (Goa) addressed a press conference attended by about 15 reporters at Mongini Hotel, Fort, Bombay, on February 4, 1955. He during his short speech made a review of the liberation movement launched by the National Congress (Goa) to liberate the Portuguese enclaves and observed that the policy followed by Shri Peter Alvares, the President of the National Congress (Goa), was detrimental to the interests of the Goans and has proved to be a failure in solving the Goan issue. He spoke in support of the restrictions imposed by the Government of India on the non-Goans from the participation in the Goa Liberation Movement and remarked that it was the correct policy followed by the Government of India to avert the International situation. He criticised the policy of Shri Peter Alvares and declared that the Provisional Committee, elected by 300 members of the National Congress (Goa) would lead the '*satyagraha*' movement in Goa. He also declared that a plenary session of the National Congress (Goa) would be held shortly to chalk out the programme of the '*satyagraha*' campaign. He finally observed that the Provisional Committee was trying its best to bring about unity amongst the Goans.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa).

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 1,000 persons was held on February 5, 1955 at Chowpatty Bombay to congratulate the Goan freedom fighters on their heroic performance on January 26, 1955. Shri M. V. Donde presided.

The President, Shri Peter Alvares, the president of the National Congress (Goa), V. L. Singbal and L. J. D'Souza made speeches criticising the policy of the Government of India as regards Goa issue and appealed to the Government to pay more attention to the Goa issue. He declared that on February 17, 1955 the National Congress (Goa) would observe 'Dr. Gayatonde Day' and the freedom struggle of Goa would be intensified on that day.

Shri V. L. Singbal in his speech referred to the false statements made by certain Goans to the effect that the struggle of Goa had died down and remarked that on the contrary the struggle in Goa is in full swing.

Bombay State Police Abstract of Intelligence dated the 12th February 1955.

Shri S. B. D'Silva of the National Congress Goa (dissident Group) addressed a press conference in Bombay on 4th February whereat he supported the Government policy of banning the participation of non-Goans in the Goa Liberation Movement.

D.C.P., S.B.

'H' Branch S.B.(I), 25th February 1955.

Supdt. S.B. (I).

Sir,

The dissident group of the National Congress (Goa) will hold elections for their delegates at the I.L.I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Girgaum, Bombay, on 26th February 1955 at 5-0 p.m.

The National Congress (Goa) will hold election of their delegates at Forbes Gujerathi Hall, V. P. Road, at 10-30 a. m. on 27th February 1965.

Under the auspices of the Liberation Council, the representatives of the Goans clubs will hold a meeting at the I. L. I. Hall at 10-00 a. m. on 27th February 1955.

(Signed).....

Inspector of Police,

'H' Branch S.B. (I), C.I.D.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

The Dissident Group of the National Congress (Goa)

The Dissident Group of the National Congress (Goa), organised a public meeting at I.L.I. Hall, Thakurdwar, Bombay, on February 26, 1955 when Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai presided and about 50 persons attended.

The President informed the audience that 34 members have been elected as delegates to the National Congress (Goa) (Dissident Group) and declared that the office of the National Congress (Goa) had been shifted to Jambulwadi, Girgaum, Bombay from New Bhatwadi, Girgaum Bombay.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

(National Congress Goa)

The dissident group of the National Congress (Goa) held a private meeting at the Congress House on February 23, 1955, when about 30 workers were present.

Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai, Hari Pariolkar, Luis Mendes and few others took part in the discussions. They explained the object of their re-organisation and the difficulties before them. The speakers stressed the need of enrolling more members for their organisation and the need of giving active support to the liberation struggle of Goa. The speakers also informed the workers about the proposal of holding a meeting at the I.L.I. Hall, on February 26, 1955.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

(For the use of workers)

1. National Congress (Goa) was founded in Goa in 1946, for the emancipation of Goa; the liberation of Goa and the welfare of its people being its paramount objectives.

2. Peter Alvares has, from the time (1952-53) joined National Congress (Goa) as its Vice-president, intentionally put aside both its veteran and new faithful workers, its founders, its old office-bearers, and even the brave Goan patriots who have done great sacrifices and suffered imprisonment.

3. He made Goan Movement a pawn on the chess-board of his Socialist party politics and by laying stress on non-Goan workers and *satyagrahis* unnerved the Goan strength.

4. He did not take the members of the Congress into his confidence as to his plans or campaign. He, without the advice of the All-Goa Congress Committee (the main policy making body of the Congress) autocratically took the hasty decision of the *satyagraha*.

5. Without facing the electorate during the specified time, he stubbornly clung to the Presidentship and even dared to say in a public meeting "those who try to replace me from the Presidentship will strike their heads against a stone-wall and in doing so they will only break their heads, but the wall will remain unaffected."

6. He purposely did not constitute the All Goa Congress Committee soon after the session in 1953; much less was it even consulted on important issues. Dictatorship and personal vanity were the rule of the year.

7. Even those workers who had him elected as the President got disgusted with his autocratic behaviour and they were forced by sheer necessity of circumstances to leave him. But Shri Peter Alvares, politician as he is, never felt a necessity to ponder over their rightful appeal.

8. Instead of putting stress on real strength, Shri Alvares laid emphasis on false and fabricated propaganda. This deprived him of the Goan support and leadership of the movement became a subject of mockery.

9. Not a single leader from those whom he brought forward as the Torchbearers of the movement felt the necessity of coming forward to offer *Satyagraha*. It is surprising under such conditions that they should give a call to other Goans to sacrifice their humble lot.

10. Those who oppose Shri Peter Alvares for his autocratic policy tried, in the interest of the cause, their level best to bring about a settlement. Forty one worker-members of the National Congress appealed him in writing to hold the Annual Election. But Shri Peter Alvares, in an offending language, set this appeal aside. The correspondence that ensued between Shri Peter Alvares and the rightful dissident group is in the file of the provisional Committee.

11. At a convention of members and veteran supporters held on the 6th November 1954, with the specific support of the branches outside Goa, a provisional Committee has been appointed to conduct the business of the Congress until an election, which will be shortly announced.

12. It is not possible to instill the support of the masses, unless important persons of high status take the lead of the movement. With this object in view some 10 names are being finalized. It is hoped that hundreds of *satyagrahis* will follow them.

13. The re-organised Congress is the real body. This alone is capable of liberating Goa. It is an open fact, as clear as day-light, that autocratic and unwanted men like Shri Peter Alvares cannot do the same.

14. Side by side with the organisation in Bombay we will have to organise ourselves on the border and strengthen our contacts inside Goa. We have to include in our organisation all the Nationalists groups at present in Goa.

15. Strengthen National Congress (Goa) by taking active part in the undermentioned activities :

- (a) To enroll yourself as a Member;
- (b) To enroll others as Members;
- (c) To be a worker and get others;
- (d) To collect funds;
- (e) To be a Volunteer;
- (f) To make National Congress (Goa) popular among your friends;
- (g) To contact the Chief Organiser and place before him one's difficulties;
- (h) To enroll yourself and others as *satyagrahis*.

In view of present grave Goan Political situation, all the workers are earnestly requested to carry out the work undertaken by them sincerely, promptly and with utmost care.

Laxmanrao Sardesai,

11th February 1955.

CHIEF ORGANISER,
National Congress (Goa).

The National Congress (Goa),
Jagmohan Mansion, New Bhatwadi,
Awantikabai Gohhale Street,
Girgaum, Bombay 4.

INSTITUTO LUSO—INDIANO

Incorporated under section 26 of the Indian
Companies Act, 1913, the liability of the
members being limited by guarantee.

Burrows Lane, Dabul,
Girgaun Road,
Bombay.

21st February 1955.

The Inspector of Police,
Princess Street Police Station,
“B” Division, Carnac Road,
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Be pleased to draft two Constables to regulate traffic in and around Burrows Lane, Girgaum Road, Bombay, on the 26th instant between the hours of 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. and on the 27th instant from 10 a.m. to 12 mid-day when an Election Meeting of National Congress of Goa and a Public Meeting of Goa Liberation Council, respectively will be held.

Your usual charges will be paid by the bearer.

Yours faithfully,
(Signd)
Hon. General Secretary.

Below T. R. No. 152 of 45

Sir,

The National Congress Goa, dissident group held a meeting at I.L.I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Bombay on February 26, 1955 to fill in and collect the nomination forms of the candidates for electing delegated for the coming annual session.

Similarly a meeting of Goan clubs under the auspices of the Goa Liberation Council was held at the same place on February 27, 1955 to discuss the effects of Economic Blockade and introduction of Permit system by the Government of India.

It is learnt from Sjt. D'Souza, who attended the meetings that there was usual police bundobust and the meetings terminated peacefully.

This may also please be filed.

Signed
H. Br.

Bombay Chronicle, dated 25th March 1955

Mrs. Sudha Joshi, president designate of the Goa National Congress, who will hold the next session in Goa itself on April 6.

National Congress (Goa)

Dated 8th January. 1955

By our correspondent

Velinga Temple violated by Agent

The famous Temple of Harsinha Damodhar of Velinga was violated by notorious police agent Casemiro Monteiro in the evening of the 4th January 1955. He came to Velinga in a police jeep with some mestico soldiers. He went to the house of temple *pujari* Mr. Pandurang Kamat who was away at that moment. Monteiro in a threatening tone asked from his brother keys of the temple safe which is inside the *Garbhakooda* (Inner Precincts) of the temple. He however, politely refused and told Monteiro that his brother who is the official *pujari* is away and that only the treasurer of Mahajan's Committee could give the key and that he being Christian should not enter the temple as there will be pollution. Agent Monteiro abused the God, cursed Hindus and entered with his band of soldiers into the temple, all with shoes on, broke open the *Garbhakooda*, then opened by force the safe where valuable gold ornaments belonging to the deity were kept. He also broke open the wooden box where temple's books of account were kept. Agent Monteiro took away the wooden box. It is also reported that some ornaments are missing.

The news was spread with great speed all over Goa and has caused great resentment in the public, particularly among the Mahajans. Goans with their characteristic patience say: "They are nearing their doom "

(Signed)

Secretary,
Bombay Branch.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), (Dissident Group), a public meeting attended by about 150 persons was held at the Congress House, V. P. Road, Bombay, on March 15, 1955 to accord reception to Dr. (Mrs.) Lavra D'Souza, the president-elect of the 7th Plannary Annual Session of the N. C. G. which would be held at Banda on the Goa border on March 20 and 21, 1955. Shri S. K. Patil, the President of the B.P.C.C. presided. Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai, Dr. T. R. Naravane, Dy. Minister for Prohibition, Government of Bombay, and the president spoke on the life of Dr. (Mrs.) Lavra D'Souza and declared that the first batch of *satyagrahis* would be led by Dr. D'Souza on March 21, 1955. They called upon the audience to carry on the Goa liberation movement on the principles of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

The National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 500 persons was held on March 26, 1955 at the People's Jinnah Hall, V. P. Road, Bombay, to accord reception to Smt. Sudhabai Joshi, president elect of the National Congress (Goa) when Shri P. K. Atre presided.

The president, Shri Hemant Soman, L. J. D'Souza, Anant Kanekar, Mahadeo Shastri Joshi, Smt. Nirmala B. Akerkar, and Sudhabai Joshi made speeches calling upon the audience to work hard for the liberation of Portuguese pockets in India.

Shri Hemant Soman opined that India should take a lead in liberation of Portuguese pockets in India and should not be afraid of NATO.

He further warned Portugueses Government that if it treated in-humanly or gave indecent treatment to Smt. Joshi, the president elect of the National Congress (Goa) after her arrest, Maharashtra would stand behind her to liberate Gomantak. He also reminded the president of the Akhil Bharatiya Jan Sangh about his assurance in this connection.

Shri L. J. D'Souza, Smt. Nirmala B. Akerkar, Shri Anant Kanekar, Mahadeo Shastri Joshi and Smt. Sudhabai Joshi called upon the audience to support the Goa liberation movement.

The president criticised the policy of the Central Government in this connection and opined that the restriction imposed on the Indians from participating in the struggle was unwanted. He observed that Shri Peter Alvares was not conducting the Goa liberation movement for the benefit of the P.S.P. as alleged by certain corners. The attached resolution was passed in the meeting.

Resolution.—"Requesting the Prime Minister of India to prevent deportation of *satyagrahis* recently sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonments by the Goa Government for participation in the Goa Liberation Movement and conveying the sense of the people that deportation would have tremendous repercussions inside and outside Goa."

National Congress (Goa)

The elections of the Bombay Branch of National Congress (Goa) were held on the 6th March 1955 at 5 p.m. at Congress House and the following were elected:—

Office bearers:

President:	Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai.
Jt. Secretaries:	Shri J. L. Aranjo, Shri P. J. Satoskar.
Treasurer:	Shri H. M. Priolkar.
Members:	Dr. J. C. Carvalho, Dr. R. B. Panthaky, Dr. Bhaskar Velingkar, Dr. M. K. Naik, Dr. K. S. Laud, Dr. A. Lavonis, Dr. Lino D'Mello, Dr. Henry D'Souza, Dr. G. P. Khandolkar, Dr. S. Ghokekar, Dr. Vaikunth N.Kamath.

Joint Secretaries.

National Congress (Goa)

With a view to carry on a vigorous propaganda on a systematic basis and supply the Goan population with correct news of the movement it is proposed to publish a fortnightly in Konkani and English.

The work has been entrusted to the following :—

Editorial Board

Konkani	Henry D'Souza, J. L. Aranjo.
English	Lambert Mascarenhas, N. B. Kamath.
Marathi	Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai, Shri Sadashive Desai, Shri A. B. Deshpande, Shri Danait.

Manager	Shri Mukund Wagle.
Distributors	Shri Khandolkar, Shri Vishnu Borkar, Shri Bhaskar Velingkar, Shri E. Lopes, Shri Lino D'Mello, Shri G. M. Frab.

The workers meeting held on 6th March 1955 decided to appoint a programme committee to raise finance. The following members were entrusted with the task of arranging programme and proceed with the work.

Members

Shri Divekar,	Shri Lambert Mascarenhas,
Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai	Shri S. B. D'Silva,
Shri K. S. Lad,	Shri Danait,
Shri V. P. Borkar,	Shri Achuyt Keni,
Shri H. M. Priolkar,	Shri Venkatesh Pai,
Shri Henry D'Souza,	Shri N. B. Kamat.

List of delegates from Bombay Branch of National Congress (Goa) elected unopposed on 26th February, 1955.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai, | 18. Shri Vishnu Borcar, |
| 2. Sarristar Samuel Moraes, | 19. Shri Atchut Keni, |
| 3. Shri H. M. Priolkar, | 20. Shri V. N. Kamath, |
| 4. Shri N. B. Kamath, | 21. Shri S. P. Khandokar, |
| 5. Dr. J. P. Silva Ribeiro, | 22. Shri Vasant Borcar, |
| 6. Shri Louis Mendes, | 23. Shri P. J. Santoskar, |
| 7. Shri K. S. Lad, | 24. S. B D'Silva, |
| 8. Shri B. B. Borcar, | 25. Shri S. Ghoddkar, |
| 9. Shri Sona Priolkar, | 26. Shri Lambert Mascarenhas, |
| 10. Shri Rique D'Costa, | 27. Dr. J. C. Carvalho, |
| 11. Shri E. Lopes, | 28. Shri Anand V. Lavnois, |
| 12. Mrs. L. D'Souza, | 29. Shr. Sitaram Mane, |
| 13. Shri R. B. Panthky, | 30. Shri L. M. Henry D'Souza |
| 14. Shri J. L. Aranjo, | 31. Shri Lino D'Mello, |
| 15. Shri E. M. Parab, | 32. M. K. Naik, |
| 16. Shri V. N. Pai, | 33. Shri S. S. Mashslkar |
| 17. Shri Mukund Wagle, | 34. Bhaskar Velingkar. |

The National Congress (Goa)

Jagmohan Mansion, Awantikabai
Gokhali Road, New Bhatwadi Lane,
Girgaum, Bombay No. 4.

Dated 2nd March 1955.

Reference No. 46/55

Dear Sir,

I enclose list of Delegates elected in Bombay on the 26th February 1955. You are one of them.

The first meeting of the Delegates will be held on Sunday, the 6th March 1955 at 5 p.m. on the terrace of the Congress House, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Girgaum, Bombay, to transact the following business : —

1. To elect Office-Bearers for the Bombay Branch.
2. To fix up the Office premises of the Bombay Branch.
3. To take charge of the Membership Roll.
4. To consider devising ways and means of collecting funds.
5. Any other business allowed by the Chair.

Kindly make it a point to attend the meeting.

List of delegates

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Bhaskar Velenkar, | 17. G. V. Kandolkar, |
| 2. Sena Priolkar, | 18. Shripad Korgaonkar, |
| 3. Dr. Siher, | 19. Ramchandra B. Naik, |
| 4. Dr. D. P. Silva, Relierao, | 20. Daya Kauhar, |
| 5. W. M. Prolkar, | 21. Vasant Borkar, |
| 6. N. B. Kamat, | 22. S. B. D' Silva, |
| 7. M. K. Naik, | 23. Shivdas Masudkar, |
| 8. M. V. Marcarenhas, | 24. Yeshwant Khendeparkar, |
| 9. Deni Menda, | 25. R. B. Pathake, |
| 10. Mukund Wagle, | 26. J. L. |
| 11. Keshav Borker, | 27. B. C. Naik, |
| 12. Achyut Keni, | 28. P. P. Saleska, |
| 13. Vaikunth N. Kamat, | 29. Shrinivas Sodekar, |
| 14. B. B. Borkar, | 30. K. S. Laud, |
| 15. Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai, | |
| 16. Roquo S. D'costa, | |

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

Chief Organiser.

Secret

No. 167670
Special Branch, C.I.D.
Bombay19

Interception Report

(The Secrecy of the interception may kindly be safeguarded)

1. Post office of Interception	Chuhalla Hill P. O.
2. Date of Censorship	12th April 1955.
3. Sender's name and address	Jt. Secretary, National Congress (Goa), V. P. Road, Bombay 4.
4. Post mark and date	Byculla, Bombay 8.
5. Date of letter	10th April 1955.
6. Language of letter	Handwritten.
7. Addressee's name and address	Shri G. V. Chinulkar, Kolhapur Palace, Bhulabhai Desai Road, Bombay 26.
8. Whether withheld or delivered	Delivered.
9. If delivered copy kept or not	Copy kept.
10. Name of Censoring Officer	H. W. Adhaliktr.
11. Additional Information and Remarks	CO. No. 76/55.

Dear Friend,

I have to inform you that an urgent meeting of the Bombay Committee has been convened on Tuesday the 12th April 1955 at 6-30 p.m. at Congress House to consider the resignation of Prof. Laxmanrao Sardesai, president, Bombay Branch.

You are requested to attend the same without fail.

Sd/
Jonit Secretary, Bombay Branch.

Reference T. R. 449/55.

A private meeting of N.C. (Goa) dissident group of Bombay committee members The following persons attended the meeting:

Shri L. Sardesai.	"	Shri V. Kamat.
" Satoskar.	"	Lawande.
" K. S. Lad.	"	Kanekar.
" H. M. Priolkar.		

Resignation of Shri L. Sardesai was accepted. He resigned as he being a Secretary of General body and active worker.

The next president will be elected on 16th April 1955 at 5 p.m. by delegates.

Sd./
D' Souza.

Reference T.R. No. 485/55

Sir,

Returned. Shri Venkatesh Pai was unanimously elected as a president in place of Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai on 16th April 1955. Information has been given in Goa Review No. 15.

D' Souza
29th April 1955.

Ref. T. R. 585/55

Sir,

Returned. The information has been published in Goa review. Hence, this may please be filed.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I)—C.I.D.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a public meeting attended by about 2,000 persons was held at Shivaji Park Maidan, Dadar, Bombay, on May 8, 1955 when Shri P. K. Atre presided.

The meeting was convened to give a send off to Shri N. G. Goray, the Chairman of the Maharashtra Praja Socialist Party who is going to lead a batch of *satyagrahis* to Goa on Thursday next. The president during the course of his speech requested the Union and State Government not to prevent Shri Goray and other non-Goans *satyagrahis* who would be entering Goa. Shri Peter Alvares told the audience that the National Congress (Goa) would launch the *satyagraha* movement with all force and hoped that all the Indians would participate in the movement.

Shri Goray stated that he was entering Goa to discharge his obligation to that single Goan who had joined the *satyagrahis* in conquering Delhi from the enemies. He opined that the Goan question would be solved by mass peaceful *satyagraha*.

Shri Goray was garlanded by about 13 organisations including the P. S.P. and the National Congress (Goa). Shri T. B. Cunha during the course of his speech, stated that the delay in settling the issue whether the non-Goans should join the movement or not had given time to the Portuguese to consolidate their position. He further added that it was necessary for all political parties to join together to take concerted action. Shri S. G. Sardesai on behalf of the Communist Party of India, promised all support to Shri Goray and stated that the people of Maharashtra would join the movement in large numbers. Shri M. V. Donde remarked that the people were anxious to liberate Goa but the Government of India is sitting silent on this issue.

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
POLICE, SPECIAL BRANCH, C.I.D.
Bombay, 23rd May 1955.

Top Secret.

Immediate.

No. 4808/H.

On the 2nd May, 1955 Dr. (Mrs.) Laura D'Souza, Professor Lucio Rodrigues, Shri Vasant Pandurang Borkar, Kashinath S. Lad, Armando Pereira, Sona D. Priolkar of the National Congress, Goa, (dissident group) went in deputation to New Delhi to interview the Prime Minister to seek support of the Government for their organisation. It is further learnt that they could not get an interview with the Prime Minister, but only had a passing visit in the verandah for about two minutes. The Prime Minister it is learnt enquired from them the purpose of their visit and questioned them as to why they should have come to Delhi if they wanted to proceed with their campaign of *satyagraha* and walked away.

They, however, it is learnt, contacted Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Shri Saxena P.S.P., (U.P.), Shri Chanda, Dy. Minister, External Affairs, Shri Ashoh Mehta, Shri N. V. Gadgil, and Shri Joaquina Alva, but everywhere they were blamed for having created disunity and were advised to have unity and to take concrete action. The mission on the whole was a failure and they had to return to Bombay on 9th May, 1955 disappointed.

It is further learnt that there is a split within the organisation and those members who had joined this organisation with the hope that they would start action immediately, have fallen out and are not taking any interest in the private meetings held from time to time in their office in the Congress House, Bombay.

Having realised their failure the All Goa Congress Committee has now decided, it is learnt to hold a public meeting at the Cross Maidan, Dhobi Talao on 26th May 1955 to announce their programme and it is reliably understood that Dr. (Mrs.) Laura D'Souza will offer *satyagraha* inside Goa on 18th June, 1955.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
B. C. SHAH.

Shri A. L. Dias, I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government of Bombay,
Education Department, Bombay.

Copy with compliments for information to—

- (1) Shri V. H. Coelho, I.F.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Bombay.
- (2) Shri J. D. Nagarwala, I .P., Addl. Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Bombay State, Bombay-26.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA),
Congress House,
Vithaibhai Patel Road, Bombay 4,
3rd June 1955.

To,

Dear Shri Saudagar,

Could you please let the bearer of this note who is one of the workers have the list of Goan National clubs in Bombay with their addresses? We would like to have the names and address for reference. I will, therefore, be highly obliged if you could oblige in this matter.

Yours faithfully.
for National Congress (Goa),
L. D'Souza,
Dr. (Mrs.) L. D'Souza,
President.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA),
Congress House.
Vithalbhai Patel Road,
Bombay No. 4.
30th May 1955.

The Manager,

Dear Fellowcountryman,

On behalf of my Organisation I have to put before you the following proposal, and I hope the members of the Club which you represent will co- operate in bringing it about.

As you are fully aware, the situation in Goa calls for very urgent and decisive measure on the part of Goans in Goa and in Bombay. With the entry of Indians into Goa the situation has become more serious, and there is not time left for Goans to talk and argue about their differences. It is time to act and act firmly and once for all; so that the destiny of our land is decided by us. We propose, therefore, that a Convention of all Goans should be held in order to take concerted action, so that Goa's liberation is achieved in a manner that will promote the utmost peace and well-being of Goans.

I have, therefore, to request you to put this proposal before your members. and seek their co-operation. Please let me know their decision. We intend to call up a preliminary meeting for the purpose of organising the Convention. and I would request you to send me the name of one representative of your Club to function on the Organising Committee.

The meeting of the Club Representatives will be held on Saturday, the 11th June 1955, at 6.00 p.m. in Congress House. Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay No. 4.

Expecting your fullest co-operation.

Yours sincerely.

in the cause of the liberation of Goa.

(Dr.) Laura D'Souza,
President.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)
Congress House, V. P. Road.
Bombay-4.

SATYAGRAHI ENROLMENT FORM

1. Name in full

(in block letters)

2. Educational qualifications

3. Permanent address

(i) In India

(ii) In Goa

4. Date of Birth

5. Place of Birth—

(i) Province (ii) District

(iii) Town/Village

-
6. Religion
 7. Married or single
 8. Name and address of next of kin showing relationship.

9.No. of dependents and relationship

Name and particulars.

10.Any other particulars

Date :

.....

Signature of Satyagrahi.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

Congress House,
Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay-4.
Date 195

No.

The Manager

Dear Friend,

As it is our intention to establish contact with the Goan people in Bombay, I would like to speak to the members of your Club on the problem of Goa, which is to-day engaging the attention of all thinking Goans and Indians. I would like to know the fears and anxieties of our people. Could you please let me know if you could arrange a meeting of the members of your Club at any convenient time and day, so that I can speak to them for a short time.

Thanking you, for your co-operation,

Yours fraternally,

PRESIDENT,

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

A private meeting of the National Congress (Goa), Dissident Group was held at Congress House, V. P. Road, Bombay, on June 11, 1955 when about 30 members attended and Dr. (Smt.) Laura D'Souza presided.

The President, Shri Bhanushankar Yagnik, Mascarenhas, Ram Sahay Pande, Louis Mendes and Prof. Rodrigues explained to the audience that the meeting was called to bring about unity among Goans at a critical time when their motherland was to be liberated. They appealed to the audience to collect funds for the help of *satyagrahis* and their families.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

A public reception was accorded to Shri A. P. Desai and S. D. Shirahat, volunteers of the National Congress (Goa) on June 6, 1955 in a public meeting organised by some of the friends at the Goa Hindu Association Hall, Tribhuvan Road, Bombay, when about 5 persons attended and Shri Pandurang Kamat Presided. The President, Shri Shaskant Narvekar, V. G. Ghanskar, Bhaskar Naik and Vithal Karmal spoke on the life of the volunteers and congratulated them for having participated in the Goa Liberation Movement. It was announced in the meeting that both these volunteers would again participate in the struggle on June 18, 1955.

The Superintendent of Licences,
Bombay Municipal Corporation,
Improvement Trust Building,
7, Napier Road, Bombay-1.

17th June 1955

*Subject:—*Permission to affix wall posters re: "Goa Freedom Movement".

Sir,

Reference your letter No. L/595/Advertisement dated 1st June 1955 on the above subject.

There is no objection to put up wall posters regarding "Goa Freedom Movement" by the National Congress (Goa) Bombay, provided they are affixed in a manner so as not to cause obstruction to traffic, in any manner.

Yours faithfully,

For Commissioner of Police

Copies forwarded to the Superintendent of Police, S. B. I. & Inspector i/c Traffic Department for information.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 500 Goans was held on June 18, 1955 at People's Jinnah Hall, V. P. Road, Bombay to celebrate the 'Goa Revolution Day' when Dr. T. B. Cunha presided.

The President, Shri Keshavrao Jedhe, Jaiwantrao Tilak, V. D. Chitale, R. K. Khadilkar, Mahadeo Shastri Joshi, Ram Sahay Pande, G. B. Mahashabde and M. R. Dandavate made speeches explaining to the audience the importance of the 'Goa Revolution Day' and asked them to support the Goa liberation struggle. They appealed to the audience to keep aside the Party politics and to unite together for the liberation of the Portuguese pockets in India. They observed that as the Government of India was unable to solve the Goan problem on account of its peaceful policy, it was the duty of people to do their best for the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese pockets in India.

The President in his speech pointed out the alleged Portuguese charges, to the effect that Goan's Freedom Movement was inspired by the Indians, but that was not true. He further assured the Goans that their interest would be safe under the constitution of India.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 400 persons was held at Kamgar Maidan, Parel, Bombay, on June 30, 1955 to pay homage to the martyr Amirchand Gupta when Senapati P. M. Bapat presided.

Shri Peter Alvares, Parab, Shelke, M. R. Dandavate, Pratap Mayekar, P. R. Vaidya, Bapurao Jagtap, Nana Patil and the President made speeches.

Shri Nana Patil informed the audience that the Central Goa Vimochan Samiti has been informed to carry out the *satyagraha* movement peacefully and further appealed to the audience to join *satyagraha* movement in large numbers for the liberation of Goa. He also requested the audience to contribute their mite towards the movement.

The President at the outset expressed that the agitation carried out by the Samiti is the only way for the liberation of Goa. He finally opined that the Samiti should start *satyagraha* campaign all over India to bring pressure upon the Indian Government to change its present policy. The other speakers also spoke in the similar strain.

2. On the same evening about 200 men took out a procession from Arthur Road, which moved along Chinchpokli Bridge, Arthur Road, Parel Chawl Road, Suparibaug Road and terminated at Kamgar Maidan where a public meeting was held. This procession was taken out by the Goa Vimochad Samiti, Byculla, Bombay, Shri Bapurao Jagtap, B. R. Satam, Maruti Bhujabal Varadhe, and Surve were the prominent figures in the procession.

3. A similar meeting was held at C. J. Hall, Fort, Bombay, on June 30, when Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M. P., presided and about 1500 persons attended.

Dr. T. B. Cunha, Pundlik Gaitonde, V. B. Gandhi, M. P., Shri A. K. Gopalan, M. P., Purshottam Mishra, Nath Pai, Peter Alvares, Dattatraya Gandham, L. J. D' Souza, Sushil Kavalehar, V. B. Dixit and the President made speeches.

Shri A. K. Gopalan appealed to the Government to take immediate steps for the liberation of Goa and further said that Communist Party of India would support the National Congress (Goa) in every respect to make this movement a success. He announced that a batch of 1100 volunteers would soon march into Goa. The President at the outset appealed to the people to come forward in large numbers and lend force to the entire movement which would bring to the notice of Dr. Salazar that Indians also would never tolerate his Government. He also announced that a batch of the members of the Parliament would soon march into Goa. Lastly he read out a letter of Shri Thakurprasad Bhargav, M. P. that the A. I. C. C. had permitted individual Congressman to offer *satyagraha* and accordingly, he would participate in the movement on August 15, 1955.

The other speakers also spoke in a similar strain.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspice of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting attended by about 200 persons was held on July 8, 1955 at People's Jinnah Hall, V. P. Road, Bombay, to protest against the repressive policy of Portuguese Officer's against peaceful *satyagrahis* when Shri H. N. Trivedi presided.

Dr. Laura, D'Souza, U. M. Mascarenhas, Shri Achyut Keni, Ram Sahay Pande, I. N. Pereira, Louis Mendes, Professor Rodrigues and the President addressed the audience.

The President at the outset declared that the agitation carried out by the Samiti was the only suitable method for the achievement of freedom. He further appealed to the audience to contribute their mite liberally towards the movement. All the speakers also spoke in the similar tone.

Secret

Inspector "H" Br.

"H" Br. S. B. (I), C. I. D.,
Bombay, 14th July 1955.

Sir,

It is reliably learnt that the National Congress, Goa (Peter's group) will hold a public meeting in the I. L. I. Hall, Burrows Lane, Bombay on Sunday the 17th instant at 10-30 a. m. to protest against the brutal firing by the Portuguese Police on Shri Roque Santan Fernandes and Prabhakar Matha who was driving the car in Goa, and heavy sentences passed on the ex-members of the Working Committee of the National Congress, Goa. The above two persons who received bullet wounds are reported to be in the Hospital in Goa and they are improving.

It is further learnt that the Goa Vimochan Samiti (Bombay Branch) will hold a public meeting at Chowpaty on 1st August 1955 to mobilise the masses in Bombay for the *mass-satyagraha* in Goa on 15th August 1955.

S. I. of Police. S. R. (I), C. I. D.,

Bombay City Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

The National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a mealing was held at C. J. Hall, Fort, Bombay, on July 21, 1955 to celebrate the First Anniversary of the Liberation of Dadra when Shri G. G. Morarji presided and about 500 persons attended.

Shri S. K. Patil, Dr. U. M. Mascarenhas and Shri Francis Mascarenhas addressed the meeting.

Shri S. K. Patil appealed to the Goans to unite, leaving aside all the differences, for the liberation of Goa and informed them to remain calm till the Congress working Committee finalises its policy towards this problem. He condemned the policy of Dr. Salazar in treating the peaceful *satyagrahis* brutally and in an uncivilised manner. Referring to the statements issued by the H. H. Pope and Cardinal Gracias he emphatically stated that Goa was not a religious issue but a political one. He finally declared the *satyagraha* by the Goans inside, was the only method to liberate Goa.

The other speakers also spoke in a similar strain.

Shri Waman Desai, General Secretary of the United Front of Goans, Bombay, who does not see eye to eye with Francis Mascarenhas attended the meeting with his about 10 followers with the sole purpose of disturbing the meeting. He requested the President to allow him to address a few words after the meeting was concluded but the same was not granted. While Francis Mascarenhas was addressing the gathering Shri Waman Desai and his group shouted slogans viz, "Tanaji Rane Ki Jai" "Waman Desai Ki Jai" etc. They also distributed leaflets re-entring the action of Shri Francis Mascarenhas in not honouring the real leaders of Dadra liberation.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a meeting attended by about 300 persons was held on July 17, 1955 at T. L. O. Hall, Girgaum, Bombay, when Shri Naushir Bharucha presided.

Shri Gawankar, V. L. Singbal, V. R. Borkar, Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, T. B. Cunha and the President made speeches stressing the need for the liberation of Goa, and said that the liberation of Goa was not the concern of the Goans only but the Indians also. As the Portuguese soldiers are entering the Indian territory by viciating laws, these instances are sufficient justification to take Police action against that power. They requested the Goans to help the movement by giving financial help and enrolling as volunteers. They further said that mass *satyagraha* only would solve the issue. It was also announced at the meeting that a demonstration would be held on 23rd July 1955 at 3 p. m. in front of the office of the "Ave Maria Press" and that the Goans should join it in large numbers.

Bombay City. Special Branch (I), C. I. D.

The National Congress (Goa) (Dissident Group)

The National Congress (Goa) (Dissident Group) organised a private meeting of the delegates at Congress House V. P. Road, Bombay, on July 30, 1955 when Shri Henry D' Souza, J. L. Arango, Luis Mendes, Dr. J. Carvalho, Panthaky Hari Priolkar, Kashinath Lad, Achyut Keni, Vasant Borkar, Laxmanrao Sardesai, Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas and about nine other delegates attended.

There was a hot discussion about the offering of '*satyagraha*' on behalf of the organisation and many of them opined that the President Dr. (Smt.) Laura D'Souza should lead the first batch of *satyagrahis* on August 14, 1955, or in the alternative she should resign. It was ultimately decided to put up the proposal before the All Goa Congress Committee which was to meet on August 20, 1955. Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai declared that he would lead the first batch of *satyagrahis* in case the president was unable to do so.

Note on National Congress (Goa)

In the year 1946 Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia started an agitation for civil liberties in Goa and addressed a meeting on 15th June 1946 at Panjim, Goa. This movement spread throughout Goa, but the Portuguese Government perpetrated untold atrocities on the people of Goa and prosecuted the agitators before the Military Tribunal which sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment ranging from 8 years to 29 years. Some of the agitators fled to India and formed two political parties namely "Gomantak Congress Committee" led by Shri Purshottam Kakodkar, and "Goa Congress Committee" led by Dr. Rama Hegde. In the year 1947 attempts to bring about fusion of these two parties were made and after strenuous efforts the two parties merged into one party namely "National Congress (Goa)" at a conference held at Londa in June 1947. Shri Laxmikant Bhembre was elected as President. The Bombay branch of the N.C.G. was opened in November 1947. Shri Laxmikant Bhembre was arrested in Goa on 18th September 1946 for defying the ban on holding public meetings. Shri S. B. De'Silva was elected as President of the Bombay branch. In 1950 there were again quarrels among the political workers over the functioning of the N.C.G. in Bombay and a second session was held in July 1950 at Londa, and Dr. J. Carvalho was elected as president. In 1951 Dr. Sanzgiri was elected president, but subsequently he nominated Dr. Bhembre as the president. Dr. Bhembre appointed Shri Peter Alvares as Vice-President in his own powers and delegated to him the powers of the President in 1953. As Dr. Bhembre could not openly work he resigned from active politics, and since then Shri Peter Alvares has become the President of the N.C.G. without election. This is being resented by most of nationalist Goans in Bombay who went to the extent of passing a no-confidence motion against Shri Peter Alvares in 1954, when some of the members like Shri S. B. De'Silva, Dr. J. Carvalho, Dr. Sanzgiri, Shamrao Lad, J. V. Kamat, V. N. Lavande and others fell out of the N.C.G. and formed another organisation under the same name.

Shri Peter Alvares in consultation with some underground workers in Goa launched the liberation movement on 15th August 1954. Shri Peter Alvares did not consult the Working Committee or other active workers of the organisation prior to launching of this *satyagraha*, as he depended more on the support of Indians in this *satyagraha* movement. As a result of the ban imposed by the Indian Government on the participation of non-Goans in this movement, the *satyagraha* of 15th August 1954 did not materialise as per expectations. However Shri Peter Alvares continued sending small batches of *satyagrahis* inside Goa to keep the movement alive. Thereafter he approached other Indian political parties and succeeded in getting the support of all for the formation of a All Goa Liberation Aid Committee at Poona. Since then this organisation has not been sending independent batches of *satyagrahis*. It is now learnt that at a meeting held at Karwar on 23rd August 1955 the organisation has decided to continue the *satyagraha* in small batches to keep the movement alive, and Shri Peter Alvares, who is expected in Bombay on 28th August 1955, will address a meeting of the workers of the organisation on or about the 2nd September 1955 to explain the further plan of action.

This organisation (N.C.G.) believes in liberating Goa, Daman, and Diu by non-violent methods. The organisation has a membership of about 2,000 Goans and the Office of the Bombay branch is situated at Girgaum Terraces, 1st floor, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaum Bombay. They have collected funds by organising variety entertainment programmes, collection through boxes, and

by issuing one rupee coupons. The financial position is quite satisfactory. The Office bearers of the Bombay branch are as under :—

1. Shri V. V. Gaunekar		President
2. S. S. Carvalho		Vice-president
3. J. C. De'Souza		Secretaries
4. Shri V. S. Karmali	}	Treasurers
5. Shri B. P. Mhambre		
6. Shri G. S. Revankar	}	Members
7. Shri J. S. Sukhtankar		
8. Shri S. D. Narvenkar		
9. Shri M. N. Pai		
10. Shri S. R. Nadkarni		
11. Shri G. K. Moya		
12. Shri Stanley De'Souza		
13. Shri S. M. Parab		

The Central Committee of the National Congress (Goa) with its office situated at Belgaum consists of the Following :—

1. Smt. Sudha Joshi		President
2. Shri Kant Hegde Desai		Secretary
3. Shri G. G. Palekar	}	Treasurers
4. Shri R. V. Naik		

After the arrest of the President, Smt. Sudha Joshi who is now in Goa Jail, a Satyagraha Council has been appointed to carry on the liberation movement and the following are the Office bearers of the Council :—

1. Shri Peter Alvares	Chairman
2. Shri J. S. Sukhtankar	Members
3. Shri Mahadeo Shastri Joshi	"
4. Shri Ram Kakodkar	"
5. Shri Mahadeo Bir	"

and the three *ex-officio* members of the Central Committee.

As a result of the dis-satisfaction amongst the members of the National Congress, Goa many of the members fell out and they started a 2nd organisation under the same name as they felt that the National Congress Goa of Shri Peter Alvares had no right to exist as there were no elections. Thus in February 1955 the dissident group of the N.C.G. formed a Bombay Branch consisting of the below mentioned office bearers and the Branch office is situated in the Congress House, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay. The ideology of this organisation is the same as that of the N.C.G. stated above. The membership is about 200. They also collected funds by moving round with collection boxes at the times of meetings etc., and by collecting donations from some prominent Goans and businessmen in Bombay. Their activities are restricted to holding of meetings only. They have not so far sent any *satyagrahis* to Goa, Daman or Diu. The president of the Central Committee Dr. (Mrs.) Laura D'Souza who had made a public speech that she would offer *satyagraha* and who had been given a reception backed out and she has tendered her resignation on

20th August 1955 as she was pressed by the other members of the working committee either to offer *satyagraha* or to resign her presidentship making room for persons who would offer *satyagraha*.

The office bearers of the Bombay Branch of the N.C.G. (Dissident group) are as under :—

1. Shri Venkatesh Pai		President.
2. Shri J. L. Arango		Jt. Secretarie
3. Shri P. L. Santoskar	}	Treasurers
4. Shri H. M. Prilokar		

The office bearers of the Central Committee of the N.C.G. (Dissident Group) consist of the following office bearers and their office is situated on the 1st floor of Pepole's Jinnah Hall, V. P. Road, Bombay.

1. Dr. (Mrs.) Laura D'Souza		President
2. Shri Laxmanrao Sardesai		
3. Shri Henry D'Souza		Secretaries
4. Shri K. S. Lad	}	
5. Shri Lambert Mascarenhas		Treasurer
6. Arnando Pereira	}	
7. Shri Gajanan Desai		
8. Shri Narendra Kamat		
9. Shri S. B. D'Silva		
10. Shri Luis Mendes		Members
11. Shri Sonu Pirolkar		
12. Shri B. B. Borkar		
13. Shri V. B. Borkar		
14. Shri Prata Santoskar		

and one member from inside Goa.

The National Congress Goa (Dissident group) has no concrete programme so far and most of the members of the organisation are dissatisfied with the working of the organisation and many have either joined the Azad Gomantak Dal or they are supporting this Dal at present.

Secret

H.Br.S.B.I.C.I.D.

Bombay, 26th August 1955.

Insp. H.Br.

Sir,

It is learnt that the National Congress Goa (dissident group) has decided to hold a meeting of the Goan Club Federation at St. Anne High School, Burrows Lane, Girgaon on Sunday the 28th August at 10.30 a.m.

It is also learnt that Shri Peter Alvares Ex-President of the National Congress Goa is coming to Bombay on 28th August 1955 to hold discussion with the N.C.G. workers in Bombay.

(Signed)

Sub-Inspector of Police,

H.Br.S.B.I.C.I.D., Bombay.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), a public meeting was held on September 2, 1955, at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall, V. P Road, Bombay, when about 500 persons attended and Shri Naushir Bharucha presided. Dr. T.B. Cunha, Peter Alvares, Dinkar Sakrikar and the president addressed the audience.

The president declared that the All-Party Goa Vimochar-Samiti would continue the struggle for the liberation of Goa till the achievement of the goal and remarked that the '*satyagraha*' of August 15, 1955, was a massive demonstration against the Portuguese Imperialism. He also appreciated the change in the policy of the Government of India to cripple the economic position in Goa and the discontinuance of the diplomatic relations with the Portuguese Government. He added that one of the neighbouring countries was helping the Portuguese to maintain their colonialism on the Indian soil. Dr. Cunha pointed out that August 15, 1955 exposed the Fascist methods of the Portuguese and appealed to the audience to support the Goa Liberation movement wholeheartedly. Shri Alvares spoke in similar strain and opined that the suspension of *satyagraha* movement would betray those who had fought against the Portuguese. He observed that the mass *satyagraha* was not launched merely to awaken the people of Goa, but also to give an effective expression to urge the Indian people for the freedom of their kith and kin. He clearly expressed that he was not in favour of taking police action to solve the problem of Goa and after paying tributes to the martyrs who lost their lives in the *satyagraha* of August 15, 1955, appealed to the audience to Co-operate with the National Congress (Goa) to root out the Portuguese from the soil of India.

Shri Dinkar Sakrikar condemned the policy of the Chief Minister of Bombay State when he said that the National Flag on the Sachivalaya was flown halfmast in the event of death of any ordinary person anywhere in the world but the Chief Minister was not prepared to halfmast the Flag as a mark of respect to the *satyagrahis* who were killed in Goa.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

Dr. (Mrs.) Laura D'Souza who has recently tendered her resignation from the Presidentship of the National Congress (Goa), convened a meeting of the Goan residents of Burrows Lane, on September 4, 1955 at St. Anne's Girls High School, Burrows Lane, Bombay, when about 200 Goans attended and Shri Thomas Fernandes presided.

Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, Shri Coutinho, Dr. Laura D'Souza and the President addressed the gathering when they appealed to the Goans of Bombay to forget their mutual differences and unite together for the liberation of Goa and added that they should not depend on the Government of India for the liberation of Portuguese pockets. The speaker also appealed to the audience to attend the mass meeting of the Goans to be held on October, 2, 1955 at Vallabhbhai Stadium, Bombay to pass a 'Quit Goa Resolution'.

Prof. Lucio Rodrigues expressed that the Goans should compel the Government of India to lift up the restrictions imposed regarding trade, postal correspondence, money orders permits, etc., between India and the Portuguese pockets in India.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Congress (Goa), and Goa Sahayak Samiti

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), and the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, a public meeting was held at Cross Maidan, Bombay on October 9, 1955, when about 1000 persons attended and Shri V. S. Singbal presided.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (M.P.), M. Harris, Chandrasekhar Yagnik, G. S. Sardesai, R. K. Khadilkar, Dr. R. Moraes, Peter Alvares, Smt. Ashatai Phadke, L. J. D'Souza, and the president addressed the audience when they informed that the meeting was held with a view to observe 'Gore-Limaye Day'.

Shri Deshpande in his speech described the brutal and inhuman activities of the Portuguese and condemned the policy of the Government of India with regard to the problem of Goa.

Shri Harris said that the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti would wait and see what steps are taken by the Government to solve the problem of Goa till the 26th January 1956 and would launch a mass *satyagraha* on that day if the Government failed in its duty. Other speakers also strongly condemned the Government policy for opposing the *satyagraha* movement.

Shri Khadilkar informed the audience that the Indian police had kicked some of the *satyagrahis* on October 2, 1955 while they were proceeding to Goa.

Shri Peter Alvares informed the audience that the Prime Minister of India is of the opinion that the Goans in Bombay did not take part in the Liberation Movement of Goa and appealed to the Goans to take this as a challenge and join the mass *satyagraha* of January 26, 1956, in large numbers.

Bombay City, Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

National Congress (Goa)

Under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) a meeting attended by about 50 Goans was held at Cavel Street, Chira Bazar, Bombay, on September 18, 1955 when Shri D'Silva presided.

Shri Choudhari, Dias, Shambhoo Palekar, Pareira, Gawankar and the President addressed the gathering.

Shri Gawankar in his speech appealed to the audience to lend their full support to the *Satyagraha* movement launched by the National Congress, Goa and added that the responsibility of the *Satyagraha* movement now lies on Goans only in view of the present Government's policy for not allowing *Satyagrahis* to enter into Goa territory.

All the speakers also spoke in a similar tone and appealed to the Goans to participate in the rally which would be held On October 2, 1955.

I. *Activities of Political Parties.*—The National Congress (Goa) (Peter's group) has decided to arrange an Entertainment Programme to be held at the Brabourne Stadium, Churchgate, Bombay, to collect funds in aid of the Goa Liberation Movement. The time and the date on which the programme will be held have not yet been decided.

Secret

No. 9064/H

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political and Services Department, Bombay,

Sub.—Goan Affairs.

I forward herewith a copy of an appeal to freedom fighters issued by the Congress Satyagraha Committee (Goa) on September 8, 1955.

The president of the Committee Shri Thakurprasad Saksena had offered *Satyagraha* in Daman on 5th February 1955 and was detained in Panjim jail in Goa. He was released after a month's detention at Caranzal on 6th March 1955.

(Signed)

For Commissioner of Police,

Greater Bombay.

(1) Copy with Compliments for information to the Deputy Secretary to Government of India to E. A. Bombay.

(2) The Additional D.I.G.P., C.I.D., Bombay.

Secret

No. 996/H

To

The Superintendent of Police,

C.I.D., New Delhi.

I forward herewith a copy of an appeal to freedom fighters issued by the Congress Satyagraha Committee (Goa) for your information.

The person referred to as Vice-president, Shri Manash Guha has been reported to have been killed in Goa on 15th August 1955. It is, therefore, not known how the president Shri Thakurprasad Saksena put him as the Vice-President of the Committee. It is learnt that Shri Thakurprasad Saksena is in New Delhi and resides at 17, Bakabganj, New Delhi.

Will you kindly therefore, make enquiries with him about the Committee as well as about Shri Manash Guha as to whether he is dead or alive as the information is urgently required by the Bombay Government.

(Signed)

Deputy Commissioner of Police,

Special Branch, C.I.D., Bombay.

Secret

1st November 1955.

Sir,

Lamington Road Section.

A private meeting of the workers of the Bombay Branch of the National Congress, Goa (Peter's group) was held at Forbes Gujarati Hall, V. P. Road at 7 p. m. on 31st October 1955. Shri V. V. Ghavankar presided and about 50 workers attended the meeting. It is learnt that the president and Shri Peter Alvares addressed the workers. Shri Peter Alvares explained to the workers the debt responsibility of Goans both in Goa and in Bombay. He said that the movement inside Goa was being still continued with vigour and how it is necessary for them to concentrate on Bombay as Dr. Salazar claims that most of the Goans in Bombay are not for the liberation but loyal to Portugal. It is therefore, necessary to prove that it was not so and as such the meetings and other programmes of the Nationalist Goans should be attended by very large numbers. He also told them that he was contacting the leaders of other Goan political parties for unity. He explained to the workers why and how the economic blockade on Goa was helpful for the liberation struggle and said that it would impress on the people of Goa that they could not exist without the support of India and the claim of Portuguese that they could provide everything to the people of Goa was a false notion. It was asked for by the Goan leaders and the Goan people and should not be therefore withdrawn.

He added that the other nations of the world are supporting the cause of the Goans in their fight for freedom and Japan would stop trade with Goa. He therefore, urged that iron and manganese ores should be supplied to Japan by India at a competitive rate. He had asked some of the Goan and Indian merchants in India to explore ways of getting these ones in India so that they could supply them to Japan. Lastly he asked the workers to enroll more and more members for the organisation and strengthen the N.C.G. Shri Ghavankar explained some of the difficulties raised by workers. The meeting was over at 7.50 p.m.

Shri Peter Alvares would leave for Belgaum on 1st November 1955.

They also decided to hold a public meeting on 25th November 1955 "the reconquest day" at Cross Maidan on account of reconquest day and asked the workers to make this a grand success by attending in large numbers.

Signed

National Congress, Goa.

National Congress Goa

The Jt. Hon. Secretary,
National Congress, Goa (Bombay Branch),
8-B-Girgaum Terraces,
Benhamhall Lane, Bombay 4.

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter No. 58, dated the 19th December 1955.

I write to inform you that there is no objection to your holding a meeting at 5-30 p.m. on Saturday the 31st December 1955 at Shivaji Park, Dadar, in connection with the observance of the Martyr's Day, provided the permission is obtained from the authorities concerned for the use of the site.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed).....

For Commissioner of Police.

Copies forwarded to the Superintendents of Police F Division and S. B. I. for information.

The Bombay Secret Abstract 12th November 1955

A meeting (50) under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) was held in Bombay on 31st October. Shri Peter Alvares (para. 528) explained to the workers that Dr. Salazar thought that the Goans in Bombay were not in favour of liberation of Goa and as such it was necessary for them to concentrate their activities in Bombay. He felt that the programme of meetings etc. of the Nationalist Goans should be attended by large numbers. He stated that he was also contacting the leaders of other Goan political parties for unity of all the parties in the liberation movement.

Secret Urgent

No. LO 47 (4634-41)/56
Ministry of External Affairs,
Sachivalaya, Bombay.

Dated 3rd January 1956.

My dear Shah,

It is reported that a meeting of the dissident group of the National Congress (Goa) was held on 18th December, 1955, and *inter alia* drew up the future programme of activity, a copy of which is enclosed for your information. I shall be grateful if a report on the meeting is sent to Government, at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) V. H. Coelho,
Deputy Secretary.

Shri B. C. Shah, I.P.S.,
Deputy Commissioner of Police, C.I.D.,
Bombay.

Secret

D.O. No. 605/POR.
Office of the Deputy Commis-
sioner of Police, Special
Branch, C.I.D. Bombay.
Dated 20th January 1956.

Dear Shri Coelho,

Please refer to your secret D.O. letter No. LO 47(4634-41)/56, dated the 3rd January 1956.

It is reliably learnt that there was no meeting as such held by the dissident group of the National Congress Goa, but Shri K. S. Lad, V. P. Borkar, Luis Mendes, S. B. D'Silva, A. V. Lavanis, Narendra Kamat and Henry D'Souza met in their office at Peoples Jinnah Hall, on December 18, 1955, when they decided to send to Government a copy of the programme of their future plan of action and also a copy of the resolution requesting the Government of India not to deport the poor seaman who come to India for service, which was accordingly done by the General Secretary Shri Henry D'Souza. A copy of the

resolution has also been forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, by the said General Secretary. It is further learnt that Shri Henry D'Souza, the General Secretary, had gone to Delhi to see Shri M. A. Hussain, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, in the 1st week of January 1956 for the same purpose.

This organisation is inactive, although the organisation might have several plans in view. Shri Luis Mendes, however, has been seen moving in the clubs to organise the Goan Clubs Federation.

The accompaniments are returned herewith.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) B. C. Shah.

Shri V. H. Coelho, I.F.S.,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of External Affairs,
Sachivalaya, Bombay.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)
Congress House,
Vithalbhai Patel Road,
Bombay 4.
Dated 21st January 1955.

To

The Commissioner of Police,
Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed by the All Goa Congress Committee to forward to you the accompanying copy of the resolution passed at its meeting held on the 18th December 1955.

Yours faithfully,
L. M. Henry D'Souza,
General Secretary.

True Copy of the Resolution of the All Goa Congress Committee of the National Congress (Goa) passed on the 19th of December 1955.

Resolved : That the National Congress (Goa) is concerned to note that several Goans have been deported without discrimination. This organisation has always urged Government that Portuguese agents in India should be deported and therefore appreciates the policy of weeding out pro-Portuguese elements but respectfully protests against the manner in which action is being taken. This organisation urges on Government the necessity of a small unofficial committee of knowledgeable Goans to screen denunciations received against Goans. We are moved to make this suggestion in view of the growing animus which we have observed among Goans in Bombay against the merger movement resulting from indiscriminate deportations.

L. M. Henry D'Souza,
General Secretary,
National Congress (Goa).

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)
Central Office, Jinnaha Hall,
Vithalbhai Patel Road,
Bombay-4.

The Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa) at its meeting held at Congress House, Bombay, on Thursday, the 15th of December 1955, has laid down the following programme of its work.

In framing this programme the Working Committee has taken cognisance of the present posture of affairs of which the constituent factors are :

(a) The Goa question is now a pawn in International politics in view of the recent alignment of America with Portugal and in view of the admission of Portugal to the U.N.O.;

(b) The declared policy of the Government of India rules out military or police intervention ;

(c) The frontier is sealed off and diplomatic and consular contacts are broken off between India and Goa ;

(d) There is no adequate emotional awakening among Goans both— within and outside Goa. The events of and following after the capture of Dadra and Nagarhaveli in July/August 1954, were sensational without awakening emotional response urging Goans generally to take active part in the liberation movement ;

The Working Committee is of the view that the first approach should be to the task of promoting the required Emotional Awakening.

In Bombay there are some 300 Goan residential Clubs formed village-wise in which life and feelings are a reflection of life and feeling in the corresponding villages in Goa and in which about 65,000 Goans live. Besides these there are village unions and old established institutions like the Goans Union, the Goa Hindu Association, the Institute Luso-Indiano, which cater to cultural needs. Bombay, therefore, offers the greatest field of work from which the movement may be spearheaded into Goa. The work will, therefore, be:

(a) A federation of Goan Clubs. This has already been formed and 100 clubs representing a population of about 23,000 have joined the federation. Shri Luis Mendes, a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa), is incharge of this field. The activating devices are: Co-operative Stores, Community Welfare Centres; visits from ministers, officials and other Indian notables; central housing known as the "Goa Nagar" a scheme the details of which will be separately submitted by Shri Luis Mendes.

(b) Work among Goan Youth. This too has already made some progress with the formation of the Goan Students' Association in Bombay. This task is incharge of Shri Narendra Kamat, a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa), the President of the association.

(c) Supporting cultural activities carried on by Gomant Bharati, which is patronised by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, for carrying on constructive work on Gandhian lines among Goans in Bombay and other parts of India. Shri Vasant P. Borkar, a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa) is carrying on this work in Bombay under the Presidentship of Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar.

(d) Welfare activities are also carried on among Goans in Bombay by the Goans Social Welfare League, which is headed by Shri Henry D'Souza, who is a member of the Working Committee and General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa).

(e) Persuading old established Goan institutions abovementioned to come out into the open in support of the liberation movement.

(f) The drawing up of a Five Year Plan for Goa and popularising it among Goans.

(g) Supporting the work of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal under Revd. Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas in developing and spreading the use of Konkani, the Goans' Mother Tongue and securing for Konkani recognition in the constitution of India as a regional language.

(h) Promoting the establishment of a Goan University in Goa and beginning to canvass funds for this purpose.

II. The above are constructive activities. A suggestion has been made that while these or other constructive activities are in progress the National Congress (Goa) should publicly declare a calling off of the Goan movement. It is hoped thereby to disarm the Portuguese authorities and enable several tried Goan nationalists freely to visit Goa in order to survey and report upon possibilities in Goa. This suggestion requires anxious thought as to whether it would be wise or politic.

III. Side by side with constructive work preparation is needed towards carrying the movement forward from Bombay to Goa ; in this direction the following work will be undertaken :—

(a) Sending prominent Goan nationalists abroad on lecture tours particularly to U.K., U.S.A. and South America and Africa to put the Goan case for freedom before the people of those lands. Hitherto all propaganda has been associated with India's claim to Goa.

(b) The establishment of a Goan Ashram on the frontier to be conducted on Gandhian lines for training workers, and *satyagrahis*.

(c) Maintaining a Contact Post on the frontier through which various devices for promoting emotional awakening in Goa will be launched. Professor Laxmanrao Sardesai, a member of the National Congress (Goa) will be in charge of this work.

(d) Setting up Radio Listening Posts inside Goa by means of small, cheap, battery sets specially built to tune in to Bombay and Delhi. A beginning may be made in a small way in certain villages.

IV. No direct action will be undertaken until the constructive and preparatory work show satisfactory results. If and when the situation appears favourable for a *satyagraha* movement, it will be *satyagraha* on Gandhian lines.

V. Pilgrimages on mass scale by Goans to the Tomb of St. Francis Xavier in Goa preceded by prayer campaigns both in Bombay, India and abroad. Religious expert opinion has already been received that there is no obstacle in Canon Law or Catholic Ethics to this. Shri S. B. De'Silva, a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress Goa, will be in charge of this task. He has already been assured of support by Mons. Orfino D'Sa, Domestic Prelate to the Pope, and Vicar of Gloria Church, Bombay, Revd. Fr. Ayses Fernandes, Editor of a Konkani Weekly in Bombay, Revd. Fr. Rodrigues Head of the Pillar Mission in Bombay, Revd. Fr. Cordeira, Revd. Fr. Salazar etc.

VI. At some stage when the situation calls for it, to establish a Provisional Government with headquarters in a suitable liberated area. The Provisional Government will then carry on by such means as may be legitimate in the circumstances then arising.

VII. *Funds*.—The National Congress (Goa) has no funds, apart from membership fees once a year. For what little we have done we have each of us dipped into our pockets. We are all men of very limited means on monthly incomes.

The implementing of the above programme will need large funds.

Yet it must preserve before the public the appearance of spontaneous Goan endeavour to that whatever we do will not be associated in international propaganda with India or its government. Hitherto the Goan movement has been reproached with being a Government subsidized effort.

Therefore the working committee is of the view that we should not receive any subsidy from Government; however cautiously it is done the fact leaks out.

The Working Committee, therefore, proposes to open a Liberation Fund. To this Government may make lump sum contribution ; so also the Indian National Congress ; in addition the Indian National Congress, its leaders and other public men in India can assist us in obtaining contribution from the business and monied classes in India or abroad when we tour the country for the purpose.

Confidential

Special Branch (I), C.I.D., Bombay, 5th March 1956

Summary Report of the meeting held at Peoples Jinnah Hall, Bombay, on 4th March 1956 at 10.45 a.m.

Under the auspices of	<i>The National Congress Goa, and the Goa Vimechas Sahayak Samiti.</i>
Subject	The Goan Prisoners' Day.
President	Shri Nausher Bharucha.
Speakers	Shri T. B. Cuncha, G. B. Mahashabde, Peter Alvares, Madhu R. Dandavate, the President and Shri Karamally.
Audience	300 persons.
Remarks, if any	Shri G. B. Mahashabde was critical of the Government policy in regard to the Goan liberation.

Shri Nausher Bharucha, referring to the observance of "Goan Prisoners' Day" all over India, said that the Indian and Goan political prisoners were being tortured by the Portuguese mercilessly and inhumanly. He said that the people of India had been receiving disturbing reports about the savage treatment given to the political prisoners in Goa and added that political prisoners were treated on a different footing in almost all countries. He observed that according to international law even soldiers who were prisoners of war were given a totally different treatment from criminal prisoners although these soldiers wanted to overthrow a particular State. He drew the attention of the audience to the

recent visit of Mr. Khalil, to Goa and said that this report to the Government of India also bore testimony to the news already published in the newspapers regarding ill-treatment of political prisoners. This sort of treatment had to be stopped. He said that Government of India should strongly protest against this savage treatment. He said that the Indian nationals in Goa retained their rights of Indian citizenship and as such it was the duty of the Indian Government to see that they were properly treated in Goa.

Referring to the Portuguese action in taking "Dadra Nagar Haveli" case to the World Court, he said that the Portuguese Government was approaching the World Court to claim its Rights on Dadra and Nagar Haveli after perpetrating grievous injustices on the Indian nationals. He asked as to what the Government of India wanted to do on the report of Mr. Khalil, First Secretary of the Egyptians Embassy, at Delhi. He could not help feeling that the Government of India was also responsible for its inaction and for sabotaging the liberation movement. The Government of India's vassilating policy in regard to the Goan liberation movement had strengthened the hands of the Portuguese Government. He, therefore, urged that the Indian people should strongly protest against the savage treatment meted to the political prisoners in Goa. He also said that the Government of Bombay was also responsible for sabotaging "our movement."

Referring to the proposed visit of Mr. Dulles to India, he said he did not know what type of reception he was going to get in India, because of his support to the Portuguese claim of Goa as its "Province." He felt that the Indians ought to raise their voice heard in this respect.

Shri T. B. Cunha described the jail life in Goa and West Africa where the Goan political prisoners were detained. He said that the political prisoners were kept in such places where persons of contagious diseases like leprosy were kept formerly, as a result of which the political prisoners were expected to be affected by these dangerous diseases. Referring to the women political prisoners, he said that they were deprived of even privacy and other consideration due to them.

Shri G. B. Mahashabde, speaking in Marathi, said that the Goan freedom movement was part of the freedom movement of India and as such it was necessary to liberate these foreign territories from foreign domination. He added that the Goa's liberation was not an international issue but it was indeed a national issue. This was an internal problem, he said. It was the Indians right to drive the Portuguese from the Indian soil similar to the treatment given to the British. He said that the Government of India were committing small as well as big blunders on the issues of Goa's liberation, States Reorganisations, etc. as a result of which the people had to suffer bullets and imprisonments. If the Government of India were not prepared to accept the responsibility of the Indian political prisoners, then he would not like to call it representative of the people. He further added that if this state of affairs was allowed to continue, then the Indian freedom would be in danger.

Referring to the political prisoners in Goa, he said that due to the Government of India's weak policy these political prisoners were getting savage treatment at the hands of Portuguese rulers.

He further said that it was hearetning to note that the Congressmen were to point out boldly inconsistencies in the Congress administration which the only ray of hope.

Shri M. R. Dandavate said that the 1942 freedom movement was not yet complete and that it would be only completed when the foreign territories were merged with India. He said that the Indians were not demanding the release of Indian political prisoners, but they wanted human treatment to be meted to them.

Referring to the news of the proposed amnesty of the Portuguese Government he said that the Portuguese Government wanted to release only Indian political prisoners while detaining the Goan prisoners. He said that the Portuguese Government was following the policy of "Divide and Rule" and reminded them that they would get the same fate as the British got in India.

Shri Peter Alvares condemned the action of the Portuguese of keeping political prisoners in "Lunatic Asylum" and warned that the Indian people would not sit complacent over the treatment of their brothers in Portuguese jails. He appealed to the Government of India not to sit silent over this issue.

The meeting came to an end at about 12.00 noon peacefully.

(Signed) S. G. Shirodkar.

April 6

The joint Hon. Secretary,
National Congress (Goa) (Bombay Branch),
3-B Girgaum Terrace,
Benaham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.

Sub.—Request for permission to hold a public meeting on the 6th April 1956 at Shivaji Park.

Dear Sir,

Reference your letter dated the 31st March 1956 on the subject noted above. I regret that the request made in your letter under reference cannot be granted.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

For Commissioner of Police.

Copies forwarded to the Superintendents of Police, F-Division and S.B.I. for information.

Station Diary

Sunday the 4th March 1956

12-20 p.m.

Meeting at
Jinnah Hall.

P.C. No. 275/C called at the Police Station and reported that there was a meeting of National Congress, Goa, in Jinnah Hall from 10-30 a.m. on *Rajbundi*. It was presided over by Shri Nausher Bharucha and Madhu Dandwate, Mahashabde, Peter Alvares, were present. There was a crowd of 400 persons in the meeting. The meeting was over at 12-00 noon peacefully.

True copy

F.W.Cs. to the Inspector of Police, S.B. (I).,
C.I.D., Bombay for information.

O.W. No. 2577/56

(Signed) M. D. Framroze,
Inspector of Police,
Lamington Road Police Station.
Dated 5th March 1956.

Free Press Journal

Sudha Joshi Day on April 6

Bombay Monday

The Goan national leader, Shri Peter Alvares, today appealed to Indians everywhere to observe April 6 as "Sudha Joshi" Day.

Smt. Sudha Joshi was arrested in Mapuea in Goa on April 6 last year while delivering her presidential address at the Ninth Session of National Congress (Goa).

Shri Alvares said the imprisonment of Smt. Sudha Joshi and other Goan freedom fighters "is a constant reminder to all Indians of a liberation movement that awaits their intervention and participation".

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

Congress House, Bombay-4.

Life Sketch in brief of Dr. Mrs. Laura de Souza

Dr. Mrs. Laura de Souza—

Born in Goa and educated in Bombay: now one of the promising young medical practitioners in Bombay.

Besides her professional duties, Dr. Mrs. D'Souza has been actively associated with a number of social and cultural activities in Bombay. She is the Editor of *Konkan Life*, a monthly magazine devoted to social, literary and cultural topics in which an attempt is made to present the Indian renaissance on the western coast of India, especially as evidenced in the Konkan.

She is President of the Goan Women's Association, which she founded last year. It is the first organisation of its kind among the women of Goa and is devoted to the social, educational, political and general welfare of the women

and children of Goa. Already it has received an encouraging support from enthusiasts in the cause of the uplift of Goan women, and under the inspiring leadership of Dr. Laura D'Souza, the Association promises to become one of leading organisations for social work for the betterment of women.

Under the auspices of the Goan Women's Association, Dr. Laura D'Souza is now venturing on the production of a unique show inspired by the folk heritage of Goa. It is called "FARAR FAR" or "A DREAM OF GOA", a Konkani Ballet, in which will feature a series of scintillating folk songs and dances, based on the culture of the Goan people. The story of this ballet has been specially written by Professor Lucio Rodrigues, an ardent folklorist and patriot, who has used the theme of the freedom of Goa in the ballet. It is a vision of Goa: Goa that was, that is, and the Goa that every patriot dreams of. The theme is close to the heart of Dr. Laura, who in all her multifarious activities has been constantly inspired by the ideal of freedom for her homeland.

It is this burning ideal that prompted her last year to organise one of the most epoch-making functions in the history of our freedom movement. All along our fight for freedom had been carried on with one section of the Goan people sitting on the fence and watching with tragic unconcern at the fate of Goa. In rallying this class Dr. Laura D'Souza did one of the most signal services to the cause of our freedom. The function was "FOCUS ON GOA", a symposium on the various cultural aspects of Goa, (which was presided over by Shri Moiarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, with His Eminence, Cardinal Valerian Archbishop of Bombay. The meeting was addressed by some of the most prominent Goan speakers and writers, and was attended by the cream of Bombay's intelligentsia. It was an awakening in the hearts of the intellectuals, an awakening that has had immediate and far-reaching effects).

Sudha Joshi on Hunger-strike in Goa Lock-up

Poona, May 15

Smt. Sudhatai Joshi, President of the National Congress (Goa), who is undergoing a long-term imprisonment in Goa for attempting to hold annual session of the Congress inside Goa last year, has undertaken an indefinite fast as a protest against confining her in a small cell for 24 hours for the last 14 months, according to information reaching here today.

The report states that Smt. Joshi and another Goa *satyagrahi*, Kumari Sindhu Deshpande, have been confined in a small police cell for the last 14 months, ever since they were arrested last year.

Their grievance is the report adds, that they have not been removed to any jail although they have been convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and continue to be confined for 24 hours in the police cell ever since they were arrested.

All their requests to the Portuguese authorities to remove them from the police cell to some regular jail have been in vain. It is as a last resort that the two have undertaken an indefinite fast to make their grievances heard by the authorities.

Smt. Joshi is on fast since May 12 and Kumari Sindhu Deshpande from May 9.

Meeting Report

Bombay, 18th May 1956

Date and Time	17th May 1956. 1-15 to 2-00 p.m.
Place	Santacruz Aerodrome.
Auspices	The National Congress (Goa), The Azad Gomantak Dal and the Goan People's Party. The Goa Vimochan Samiti.
Subject	Reception to Goan leaders, Dr. Ram Hegade and Prof. Purshottam Kakodkar.
President
Speakers
Audience	200 persons including volunteers of the Azad Gomantak Dal.
Remarks if any

A warm reception was accorded to Dr. Ram Hegde and Prof. Purshottam Kakodkar by Goans at Santacruz Aerodrome. Dr. Hegde was accompanied by his Portuguese wife.

Dr. Ram Hegde told Press reporters that political and economical conditions in Portugal were bad and the Portuguese people were appreciating India's policy of solving the dispute peacefully. He also told that the Portuguese people, most of them, were beginning to sympathise with the Goan liberation movement. He added that the struggle for the liberation of Goa must be continued. He and Prof. Kakodkar stated that they would decide their future course of action after discussing the latest developments in Goa with other leaders of Goa.

Those present at the Airport were the following:—

Dr. and Mrs. Gaitonde, Shti Peter Alvares, Dr. Mascarenhas, Shri Madhu Dandavate, Smt. Peter Alvares, Shri George Vaz, Dr. (Miss) Braganza, Dr. Sanzgiri (Ex-President of the National Congress), Shri Sukhtankar, Shri Jana Kamat, Shri Vaman Desai, Advocate Singbal, Dr. Carvalho.

After the reception Dr. Ram Hegde and Shri Kakodkar went to stay with Dr. Gaitonde.

(Sd/-).....

S. G. Shiroalkar

Secret.

SECURITY CONTROL OFFICE,
3/1, Pretorin Street,
Calcutta.
9th August 1956.

No. 16375/FM. 2330/56.

Enclosure.—Report No. 16 of S.C.C. 61 dated 4th August 1956. Copy forwarded to:—

- (1) Mr. T. Nath, I.P.,
Assistant Director,
Intelligence Bureau (MHA),
Government of India, New Delhi (in triplicate).

-
- (2) Shri B. Bagchi, I.P.S., J.P.,
Deputy Commissioner of Police (1),
I Branch, Special Branch,
Calcutta.
- (3) Shri B. Chakrabarti, I.P.S.,
Special Superintendent of Police (1),
Intelligence Branch, C.I.D.
West Bengal,
Calcutta.
- (4) Shri B. C. Shah, I.P.S.,
Deputy Commissioner of Police,
S. B. Bombay.

Secret.

Report No. 16 of S.C.C. 61 dated 4th August, 1956.

1. The activities of the National Congress Goa, Calcutta Branch have been of the wane since its inception. There is no solidarity among the Goans here, nor are they sympathetic towards the Goan cause. Most of the Goans in Calcutta being illiterate and placed in the lower stratum of society, employed as they are mostly on board the ships as seamen and in hotels and restaurants as menials, lack in political consciousness and sense of unity. Louis Gracias, President of the Congress who is himself an anti-Portuguese and Nationalist in out-look for the last twenty years thought in the beginning that he would be able to consolidate these politically backward Goans and would bring them into the Congress fold by inspiring in them the sense of unity and self-determination. He also cherished the idea that by his personality and position, he would be able to convince the richer and more cultured sections of the community with the objective of the National Congress and enlist their moral and material support in building the organisation and pursuing their desired aims *i.e.*, achieving the freedom of Goa. With this end in view he started to work on the project and initially succeeded in enlisting a few Goans as members of the organisation. As time passed on he found that the membership of the organisation included only a handful of Goans. The Goan Clubs and establishments of the city were left unrepresented in the National Congress. The rich, the cultured and the poor alike evinced their apathy towards the Goan cause and did neither participate in the organisation as members nor attended the private meetings of the organisation which were convened from time to time on due notice. The few Goans who enrolled themselves as members of the Congress even abstained from attending the meeting and taking any active part. All along Mr. Gracias with only about five or six members used to hold the meetings at the office of the organisation on at 18, British Indian Street. They used to formulate their policy and chalk out their resolutions due to lack of general support. Even the five or six supporters who used to rally round the Congress banner, held by Mr. Gracias failed in their efforts to co-ordinate their collective efforts due to difference of opinion among themselves. They were also wanting in organisational ability.

Although in the beginning of 1955 the Congress sent its General Secretary, Mr. U. M. Almeida, to Goa to work underground along with other nationalists there and sent some financial help to him to carry on the work, the help was not adequate to go on with the project. Mr. Almeida was in correspondence with Mr. Gracias and the latter used to send some money to the former from time to time after collecting the same from the members and other well-wishers

here. On occasions Sir Arabindo Ghosh who was connected with this National Congress Goa, collected some money from his friends and acquaintances on behalf of the organisation and gave the same to Mr. Gracias for the help of Mr. Almedia and other underground workers.

This state of affairs did not last long; and moreover the handful of members who used to contribute in the beginning stopped contributing their monthly subscriptions to the organisation. The present financial position of this organisation has been very acute. Mr. Gracias was very much disturbed over the present position of the Congress and was lately showing signs of frustration. He was heard to say once or twice that he would close up the Calcutta Branch of the National Congress Goa.

Mr. Gracias works with the Ralli's (Rallis India Ltd.,) and it is reported that his bosses, who are Greeks are well disposed towards him for his taking active part in the Goa issue. The Greeks are striving to win freedom for Cyprus and it is natural for them to sympathise with the Goan cause. Mr. Gracias has since taken a month's leave from his office and has left Calcutta on 29th July 1956 for Karwar. It is reported that he collected a sum of Rs. 1,000 from his bosses and colleagues in the office and has gone to Karwar to organise and direct the nationalist activities in Goa from the border along with the other stalwarts of the local Congress. The nationalists are now reported to be very active in the border and they are conducting their campaign in full swing. They are bombing the Portuguese held establishments there killing pro-Portuguese Goans, and looting their shops. Mr. Gracias's purpose of visit to Karwar is to observe the local situation there and to gain first-hand information also so that on return to Calcutta he may revive his anti-Portuguese propaganda campaign more vigorously than before. It remains to be seen whether the Calcutta Goans, callous as they are to the freedom movement, will respond to Mr. Gracias' call for unity or not.

Mr. John Menezes, employed as a teacher of music in La Martinier School here, who also imparts private lessons in music to local Goan and AngloIndian boys, is suspecting Mr. Gracias and his associates working underground in Goa for looting the gun shop of one Mr. Salvis in Goa. It is reported that Mr. Salvis' gun shop was looted by the terrorist nationalists in Goa and he, for fear of Portuguese harassments and persecutions put an end to his life with his own revolver. Mr. Salvis' is the nephew (sister's son) of Mr. Menezes and the latter is now accusing Mr. Gracias and his other nationalist associates of causing the death of his nephew. Mr. Menezse says that by causing mischief to Goan life and property, the nationalists won't succeed in winning independence for Goa, but on the contrary they would help the Portuguese to continue their grip on Goa firmly as before, because the peaceful Goan citizens will deny the nationalists all co-operation in the movement. According to him, the nationalists are, for the present, being aided by the local Goans, but when the latter would find that instead of causing mischief to the Portuguese life and property, the nationalists are after the Goan life and porperty, they would refuse them co-operation.

Reliable

A section of the Goan community particularly some members of the Goan Association of Bengal have hailed the recent decision of the Bombay High Court in the cause of one Rodrigues, a Goan national. The State Government of Bombay under Foreigners Act passed an order on Mr. Rodrigues directing him to leave India. Mr. Rodrigues appealed against the order to the High

Court Bench, when it gave a decision in favour of Rodrigues holding that the accused had reasonably proved his Indian domicile. This decision has come as a great relief to these Goans, who are now talking among themselves that they can stay on in India, as long as they want to complacently and with impunity. Sometime ago the Government of India issued a notification calling upon the Portuguese Indian subjects to register themselves in the Provincial Registration Offices. After these notifications some Goa-born Indian residents holding Portuguese Passport or Portuguese Certificate of Identity got themselves registered, but those who did not, passed off as Indians. Many Goa-born Indian residents have neither Portuguese papers nor Indian papers. After the above notification was issued, these Goans were vacillating whether they should register themselves as Portuguese citizens or should make efforts to obtain Indian domicile. Now they say that in view of the above decision, they can easily pass off as Indians without having to obtain Indian passport or Indian certificate of identity. In the event of their prosecution in the local courts for their not having Indians domicile papers, they would cite the Rodrigues' case in their favour or they would produce some other local evidence in their defence stating that they were domiciled Indians by virtue of their protracted residence in this country.

In the course of a private discussion with Messrs. F.A.C. Lisboe and Caesar Menezes, Officer in Charge and Technical Assistant, respectively in the Overseas Communication Service, Calcutta, the following views have been gathered :—

According to Mr. Lisboe only a small number of Goan nationals in Calcutta, Bombay and Bangalore are Pro-Portuguese in attitude. This, he says, is due to various reasons, such as their ignorance and natural cowardice; personal interest in their house and landed property in Goa and fear of inhuman Portuguese repressions on Goans, arrested for political reasons. This unreasonable phobia against the Portuguese in most cases is acting as a deterrent to their participation in the Goan Freedom Movement.

Although the last persecutions of the Christian Missionaries in Nagpur areas caused an alarm in the Goan community, this fear did not last long. They hold that so long the Congress will remain in power, there is no cause for anxiety in regard to their own religion. The Congress Government are respecting secularism of the State and they will continue to do so as long as they hold their office. They are only afraid of the other groups, specially the Hindu Mahasabha for using discrimination so far the Christian religion is concerned.

According to Caesar Menezes, the Goans are mortally cowed down by the Portuguese repressions. In 1946, while he was in Goa, he participated in the Goan Political movement. At that time the Portuguese authorities arrested many Goans and tortured them mercilessly. They deported a number of leaders from Goa and detained them on long terms in the jungles of East African Portuguese colony. During transit, they killed many nationalist Goans. At this he was frightened and he eschewed politics. Like him many of the Goans have been, discouraged from taking to politics and joining the movement although they want Independence of Goa from Portuguese domination.

4. Mrs. Teresa D'Costa, wife of Mr. Rosario D'Costa, the Portuguese Army deserter in Calcutta, reportedly left her village home at Vasco-da-gama for India to join her husband on 8th July 1956. Since that time there was no trace of her and it is apprehended by her husband that either she was caught by the Portuguese or got lost in the jungles while crossing the border by trek.

Top Secret

M.A. Branch, S.B. II. C.I.D.

Bombay, 14th August 1956

M. No. 322

Time: 6-15 p.m.

It is learnt from a reliable source that Shri Dandavate of P.S.P. gave the following announcement to Shri Kelkar of *Navashakti* for publication:—

“There will be a public meeting under the auspices of the Goa Vimochan Samiti and the National Congress, Goa at 6-00 p.m. on the 15th August 1956 at Chowpatty on account of Goa *Mukti Din*. Shri Nausher Bharucha will preside and Shri Peter Alvares and others will speak “.

Copy submitted to:

(1)D.C.P., C.I.D., Bombay.

(2)Superintendent of Police, S.B.I. (Additional), C.I.D.

(3)Superintendent of Police, S.B.I., C.I.D., Bombay.

Bombay, 16th August 1956.

Meeting Report

Date and Time	15th August 1956; 6-00 to 7-45 p.m.
Place	Chowpatty.
Under the auspices of	The Goa Vimochan Samiti (Bombay Branch) and the National Congress (Goa).
Subject	“Martyrs’ Day“
President	Shri Nausher Bharucha, M.L.A.
Speakers	Shri M. R. Dandavate, Shri T. B. Cunha, Dr. Rama Hegade, Vinayak Bhave, Madhukar Mahajan, Shri Louis Gracious, Rasiklal Bhat and Shri Peter Alvares.
Remarks, if any	Shri Purshottam Kakodkar, Mrs. Rama Hegade, were present at the meeting.

Shri T. B. Cunha recalled the last years massacre of *satyagrahis* perpetrated by the Portuguese rulers in Goa, who claimed the integration of Goa to India. Twenty five people were shot dead, and hundreds of Indian *satyagrahis* were injured on the Goa border due to merciless firing by the Portuguese soldiers, which reminded the Indians that India was not yet completely free from foreign domination. The Indians would pay homage to the brave *satyagrahis* who died on the border of Goa. He remarked that the 15th August *satyagraha* was one of the gigantic *satyagrahas* that ever occurred on the soil of India. In this connection, he referred to the vile and exaggerated propaganda carried on by foreign press who subsequently rectified their disruptive attitude towards the historic event. The unarmed *satyagrahis*, although superior in number refrained from using violence in spite of provocative circumstances. He further added that India was proud of the non-violent weapon given by the Father of the Nation and that India was missing the valuable guidance given by him. “We missed the revolutionary spirit of the Mahatma and that is why India’s independence was still incomplete,” he added.

Shri Nausher Bharucha told the audience that the Goa Vimochan Samiti continued the liberation struggle in spite of the ban imposed by the Government of India. The people of India would not forget the liberation struggle for Goa,

although some of the leaders were engaged in the S.R.C. agitation. Their hearts were full of grief and disappointment over the issue of Goa's liberation and they hoped to free the Goan territories very soon. He assured the audience that as soon as the present agitation on the S.R.C. was over, they would immediately take up the Goa problem.

Shri M. R. Dandavate (P.S.P.) appealed to the P. M. of India to withdraw the ban of Indians *satyagrahis* so as to allow them to fight for the liberation of Goa in the Gandhian way. He said that Gandhiji used to extend his support to all movements which were aimed at liberation of countries and for removing injustices and that geographical boundaries would never come in his way. The Indians were not demanding police action against the Portuguese because they knew well the Indian Government's policy of "Panchshila". He said that political prisoners, both Indians and Goans, were rotting in the Portuguese jails undergoing long imprisonment and that it was the duty of all to liberate them as early as possible.

Shri Dr. Rama Hegde said that more and more blood would have to be shed in order to liberate the Indian territories from the fascist hands and that the Goans belief in the non-violent weapon had not decreased.

Shri Vinayak Bhave said that so long as complete freedom was not achieved, there was every danger to the freedom of India from foreign powers. He asked why India was not doing what Egypt had done in the case of the Suez canal? He said that if the Government of India was not able to do anything for the liberation of Goa, it should allow the Indians to do the same, by withdrawing the ban and other restrictions imposed.

Shri Louis Gracius, National Congress (Goa), Calcutta Br. said that the Goans and Indians had suffered brutality of the fascist Portuguese when they entered the Goa border last year. The *Satyagrahis* had gone there with the same spirit that brought freedom to this country. The Goans were grateful to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives on the Goan soil and paying their tributes to them. He wondered how Brazil and Portugal forgot their own freedom struggles, when they were under the domination of the Spanish Rule.

He appealed to the Goans in Bombay to unite at this crucial hour when their brethren were fighting and facing tortures in Goa.

Shri Madhukar Mahajan (Jan Sangh) reminded the P. M. of his speech at the Ravi River during the Congress session that the Congress would fight for complete freedom of India and remarked that the P. M. seemed to have forgotten his words. He asked the people to raise their voice on the Goa issue so that the P. M. would come to know his duty towards the liberation of Goa, Diu and Daman.

Shri Rasiklal Bhatt emphasised the need for taking military action against the Portuguese similar to the Egyptian action on the issue of the Suez canal.

Shri Peter Alvares pleaded to the Government of India to treat the Goa issue as an Asian problem and to take more and active interest in the Goan freedom movement as it was taking in respect of international issues. He said that people of India could not sit silent so long as the liberation struggle in Goa was not complete. The Goans had all along been fighting against the alien rule and there were 30 rebellions in Goa for liberation, he said. In spite of the repressive and brutal policy of the Portuguese, the freedom movement was still going on in Goa, he declared.

The meeting came to an end at about 7-45 p.m. peacefully.

Station Diary

Police Station

'C Division

*Time**Occurrence**Remarks*

Wednesday the 15th August 1956

9-30 P.m.

3. P.C. No. 7409/C, reports that the meeting of "Goa Liberation Samiti was held on Chaupatty sands to-day near Lokmanya Tilak Statue. About 1500 persons attending the said meeting. 'The meeting commenced at about 6 p.m. and was dispersed at 7-50 p.m. Shri Naushir Bharucha presided over the meeting and the following men delivered lectures:—

Meeting at Chaupatty.

1. Dr. Cunha,
2. M. R. Dandawate,
3. Dr. Ram Hegde,
4. Vinayak Bhave,
5. Luizy Gracius,
6. Madhukar Mahajan,
7. Rasiklal Bhatt,
8. Peter Alvares.

In the meeting tributes were paid to those who died for the cause of liberation of Goa. The above speakers also expressed that attempts to liberate the *Satyagrahis* who are at present in the prison at Goa are in progress. It was also assured in the said meeting that full and substantial support is there for the continuation of *Satyagraha* for the said liberation of Goa.

It also criticised our Government for not sending military to Goa for liberation when they could use the military for similar cause like that of Kashmir and Hyderabad.

At about 7-50 p.m. when the said meeting was coming to an end one person namely Georges Yusuf Ismail Jabalpurwala (M. age 18 years. Occ : Student. Res : Rasul Manzil, 3rd floor, Room No. 14, Teni Mohalla, Bombay) made an attempt to climb the stage to deliver lecture when the dispersing mob pulled him down but police intervened and protected him from further being molested. Enquiries made go to show that after listening to the lectures of the aforesaid persons, he also liked delivering his own speech wherein he wanted to express his own views. Parallel enquiries were also made by S. I. Jambuwalikar from Goa Branch. S.B.I., C.I.D. and his enquiries also revealed the same thing and hence he was brought to the Police Station and after placing him before Inspector

was handed over in the safe custody of his uncle, one Badruddin Gulam Hussein Jabalpurwala, M. age 40 yrs. Occ : Watch repairer.

Res : as above.

Nothin'g unusual to report no violence or any thing of that sort come to the notice during the meeting.

True Copy

Copy Submitted to : (1) The D. C. P. H. Q.
(2) The D. C. P. South
(3) The D. C. P. S. B.
(4) The Superintendent, "C" Division.

(Signed)

Inspector of Police,

Gamdevi Police Station.

Bombay, 9th November 1956.

Meeting Report

Date and Time	8th November 1956, 6-30 to 7-30 p.m.
Place	Vallabhbhai Patel Stadium, Worli.
Under the auspices of	The National Congress (Goa) and the Goa Vimochan Samiti.
Subject	Reception to the Foreign Socialist Delegates.
President	Shri Peter Alvares.
Speakers	The President only addressed the audience.
Audience	500 invitees.
Remarks, if any	

A reception, on behalf of the National Congress (Goa) and the Goa Vimochan Samiti, was accorded to the visiting Foreign Socialists delegates attending the First Asian Socialist conference in Bombay.

The following Goan Nationalist and P. S. P. leaders were seen at the reception : Shri Ganga Sharan, Chahman, P.S.P., Dr. Rama Hegde, Dr. Laura D'Douza, Shri Peter and Smt. Lila Alvares, Shri Sunthankar, Shri Sushil Kavalekar, Shri and Shrimati Madhu Dandavate, Shri Ashok Mehta, Shri and Shrimati Prabhakar Kunte, Barrister Nath Pai, Shrimati Laxmi Menon (Madras), Shri Waman Desai, Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, Shri Timbaldo, Dr. R. G. Kamat, Fernando D'Costa and his wife and others.

Mr. Uba-Swe, Prime Minister of Burma and other delegates were introduced to the local leaders.

Shri Peter Alvares, making a brief speech on the occasion, welcomed the Foreign Socialist leaders. Referring to the freedom struggle of Goans, he said that the foreign delegates were all aware of the history of the Goan freedom struggle since they had given the rightful place to the Goan struggle in their discussion on "colonial problems". He hoped that the Goans would derive special advantage of the holding of the Asian Socialist Conference in India, very near to the scene of freedom struggle.

The function ended at about 7-20 p.m. peacefully.

(Signed)
Reporter.

Meeting Report

Bombay, 12th February 1957

Date and Time	12th February 1957; 9-30 to 11-15 p.m.
Place	Shivaji Park, Dadar.
Under the auspices of	The National Congress Goa and Goa Vimochan Samiti, Bombay Branch.
Subject	To give reception to the released Goa <i>Satyagrahis</i> .
President	Shri P. M. Bapat <i>alias</i> Senapati Bapat.
Speakers	Shri M. R. Dandavate, S. G. Sardesai, Rajaram Patil, Shri N. G. Gore <i>alias</i> Nanasaheb Gore, Peter Alvares.
Audience	4,000 persons.
Remarks, if any	Shri N. G. Gore's speech was impressive and was heard with rapt attention.

Shri M. R. Dandavate, at the outset, informed the audience that the Goa Vimochan Samiti had invited all *satyagrahis* who had been released from the Portuguese prisons, for extending a hearty reception. While Ishwarbhai Patel and Jagannathrao Joshi were unable to come, Shri Madhu Limaye expressed his inability to attend the reception as the platform was likely to be used for election propaganda. Shri Dandavate informed the audience that it was clearly stated in the letter of invitation to Limaye that the platform would not be used for election propaganda and assured the audience that no speaker would touch the forthcoming election propaganda. The following organisations garlanded Shri N. G. Gore and Rajaram Patil:—

(1) The Goa Vimochan Samiti, (2) The National Congress (Goa), (3) The P.S.P. (Bombay Branch), (4) The Revolutionary Communist Party, (5) The S. M. Samiti, Bombay Branch, (6) The S. M. Congressjan Parishad, (7) The P.S.P. (Phanswadi), (8) The Mill Mazdoor Sabha, (9) The Press Mazdoor Sabha, (10) The Belgaum Nagarik Sangh, (11) Praja Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha. (12) Zabhwani Wadi Mitra Mandal, (13) C.P.I., Bombay Branch, (14) Bombay Nagarik Sangh.

Sanapati Bapat, welcoming the *Satyagrahis*, said that the people welcomed the released *satyagrahis* as well as those who were still behind the bars. He said that the Goan problem had not yet been solved as the Government of India put restrictions on the Indian *satyagrahis* and expressed its desire to solve the issue by negotiations.

Shri Peter Alvares said that the Indians had to carry the freedom struggle until Goa was liberated from the foreign domination. The Goans were suffering intolerable hardship due to the economic blockade as well as the tortures inflicted by the Goan Military soldiers.

Shri S. G. Sardesai gave in brief the history of the Goan struggle and said that what was the future policy for the liberation of Goa. He said that the people of India should tell frankly to Pandit Nehru that they would not tolerate “dog in the manger policy” any longer. He should either give up the present policy and take steps to liberate Goa early or remove the Indian Police from the Indian frontiers in order to allow the Indian *satyagrahis* into Goa for its liberation violently or non-violently. Referring to Pandit Nehru’s appeal to North Bombay Citizens to vote for Shri V. K. Menon, he said that Goa problem was also one of the issues of Nehru’s foreign policy and that he should take advice of Shri Manon on the issue of Goa. The people then would vote for him knowing fully well his policy towards Goa.

Shri Rajaram Patil said that Goa would be liberated one day or other, and appealed to Pandit Nehru to give up his present policy. Referring to Pandit Nehru’s statement that the vote for Shri Menon would be a vote for his foreign policy, he said that the votes could be taken that day only in Poona where Shri N. V. Gadgil and Shri N. G. Gore were contesting for a seat of Loksabha. He also remarked that his colleges in Goa jails had told him to ask the people to vote for Shri Peter Alvares, as Shri Menon wanted to solve the Goan problem in a peaceful way.

Shri N. G. Gore said that he believed that the Indian Government and Pandit Nehru were behind the liberation struggle for Goa and that it would take proper action when the time came, but he was disappointed to see the present policy of the Government of India which was not at all helpful for the solution of the Goan problem. He remarked that so long as there was no strong Government to support the liberation struggle for Goa, the liberation struggle would never be successful. The Indian Government wanted peace outside, and it was biting the Indian people inside India. Referring to the Goa situation, he informed the audience that the Goan were undergoing hardships due to the atrocities of the Portuguese police, but still they were carrying on agitation, thinking that the Indian Government would come to their rescue. Once they were disappointed that they would not get any assistance from the Indians or the Indian Government the liberation struggle for Goa would die slowly and afterwards it would be very difficult to revive it. The Portuguese Government had systematically started dividing the Indians and Goan prisoners and they were kept separately in jails.

He further observed that although the movement was not successful, still the people all over the world knew about it. Even the Portuguese army were beginning to understand the implications of the Goan struggle. He laid that the Portuguese were completely defeated in their efforts to create a disunity among the Goans as Christians and Hindus.

Concluding his speech, he said that it was for the Indian people to decide whether the present Government would bring about the change in Goa or not and they should vote to those people who would solve the Goan problem early.

The meeting ended peacefully at about 11.15 p.m.

(Signed.)

Meeting Report

Bombay, 30th April 1957.

Date and Time	29 April 1957, 9-00 to 10-30 p.m.
Place	Amar Hind Mandal's open ground.
Auspices	Amar Hind Mandal's Vasant Vyakhyan Mala.
Subject	"Goa Darshan."
President	Shri Sawant.
Speaker	Shri Peter Alvares.
Audience	500 persons.
Remarks, if any	Shri N. G. Gore, M. P., was to speak on the above subject, but he was unable to come to Bombay from Poona. His lecture, has been postponed to 4th or 5th May 1957.

Shri Peter Alvares, speaking on the subject, gave the history of Goans' freedom struggle from foreign domination and said that it was wrong to say that the Indian War of Independence was first started in 1857. It was started even before 1857 in Goa, when the Goans started rebellions against the Portuguese rule. In 1913 there was another upheaval in Goa, but the Portuguese crushed it with the help of some native powers. In 1934 the National Congress (Goa) was formed as the Indian National Congress at its session in Bombay decided to concentrate on the freedom movement against the British power only, as a consequence of which the Goa Congress Committee was disbanded and the National Congress (Goa) was formed.

In 1946, under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia, a non-violent struggle was launched, but it was unsuccessful. The participants in the movements were removed to Africa and Portugal and they were still there.

He observed that some people and a party were saying that the Goans only should fight for their freedom, and that the Indians should not go to their help. He remarked that this was a wrong notion. He said that the Goans alone cannot fight against a powerful fascist rule and hence the Indian help was necessary towards the liberation struggle. Even during the British regime, India enjoyed freedom of speech which the Goans could not enjoy. Even the invitation cards for marriages were being censored by the Portuguese Government.

He remarked that the Portuguese rule had almost come to an end in 1954, but when they came to know the Government of India's policy of not allowing *satyagrahis* to Goa, they immediately started repressive policy and adopted all measures to put down the freedom movement. He recalled the 14th August 1955 when the people of Bombay observed 'hartal' on their own initiative and took processions to the Secretariat resulting in Police firing on the people. The Portuguese people actually prayed that the Nehru Government and Shri V. K. Menon should come to power after the general elections so that Pandit Nehru would be able to follow its peaceful policy towards Goa issue. He also remarked that the policy of the Portuguese and the Government of Bombay was not different, as both the Governments resorted to firing on unarmed people.

Concluding his speech, he said that the Portuguese Government has the support of the U.S.A. and U.K. and that the Nehru Government's policy was not helpful to the liberation of Goa. The American and the British Governments were trying to bring India into their clutches on other issues as a result of which the Goa question has become a " Cold War " issue. He requested the India Government to bring pressure on Portugal to release the Goan political prisoners immediately, and to lift the economic blockade early.

He hoped that if the India Government took proper steps the Goa issue could be solved early. The President thanked the speaker and the meeting ended at about 10-30 p.m. peacefully.

Confidential

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 5th May 1957.

Meeting Report

Date and Time	4th May 1957; 9-15 to 10-30 p.m.
Place	In the premises of the Amar Hind Mandal
Auspices	Amar Hind Mandal, Dadar.
Subject	"Goa Darshan
President	
Speakers	Shri N. G. @ Nanasaheb Gore, M.P.
Audience	1,000 persons
Remarks	

Shri N. G. Gore *alias* Nanasaheb Gore, speaking on the subject, informed the historical background of Goa. He said that the history of Goa showed that the Goans were fighting for freedom even 500 years ago. He added that the Indians should not entertain any doubts about the Goans desire for freedom. Both, Christians and Hindus of Goa had given full support to the freedom movement in Goa.

The speaker, comparing the freedom movement in Goa and India (under British rule) said that the Goans could not take recourse of law, once they were held up by the Police. Even the newspapers had no right to protest against the action of the Portuguese Government. This was unlike the British rule in India.

Referring to the Indian blockade, he said that in spite of the blockade, a large scale of smuggling was going on. The only sufferers were the common people and their hardships had increased consequent on the blockade. Even then their sympathies towards India had not disappeared. The Government of India was not doing anything for the Goan students in India so that they could have some sympathies for India. He also remarked that there were some Indian Merchants doing business in Goa and thus helping the Portuguese Government in earning Dollars and that the Government of India must take action against these Indian businessmen.

He observed that the liberation of Goa depended upon the policy of the Government of India and the people should bring pressure upon Government to do something for Goa. As the Goans have expressed their will to merge with India, there was no question of holding a plebiscite in Goa.

A member of the audience asked whether Goa would go to S.M. after its liberation, the speaker remarked that considering the present trend of activities efforts were being made to see that Goa did not become a part of S. M. In this connection, he invited the attention of Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar's speech on the formation of separate *Konkani* speaking *Pradesh*.

The meeting ended at 10.30 p. m. peacefully.

Station Dairy

Esplanade P.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	26th Sept. 1957. 9 p.m. P. C. No. 6484/A reported that a meeting of the National Congress, Goa was held in the compound of Wellington building at Wellington Street at 7-30 p.m. There were about 50 persons in the meeting which was addressed by one (1) J. S. Sukthankar, (2) Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, (3) Dr. Mrs. Lauia Drim (4) Mr. Dias. They spoke of the repression of the Portuguese Raj in Goa and the ways to attain freedom peacefully. The meeting concluded at 8.45 p.m. and nothing untoward was noticed.	Report of a meeting

True Copy

F.W.Cs. to the Inspector of Police,
S.B.I., C.I.D. (Goa Branch) for information.

Inspector of Police,
Esplanade Police Station.

A public meeting under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa) was held at Cross Maidan, Dhobi, Talao on 22nd September 1957. The meeting which was attended by about 1500 persons started at 6.15 P.M. and concluded peacefully at 8.00 P.M. the same day. Shri Peter Alvares (President), L. J. D'Souza, Prof. M. R. Dandavate, Prof. Lucio Rodrigues and Shri Gerald Pereira addressed the gathering.

Prominent among the audience were Shri Nicolau Menezes, Lambert Mascarenhas, S. B. D'Silva, Louis Mendes, Dr. (Mrs.) Laura, Joachim Dias and Dr. Carvalho. Shri T. B. Cunha, who according to previously distributed Konkani and English leaflets, was to be one of the speakers at this meeting, did not attend.

Shri Peter Alvares spoke first. He strongly criticised the Government of India and their policy towards Goa which he remarked was both mild and timid. He also criticised the BPCC for not recognising the merits of real workers in the cause of Goan liberation and deplored the recognition and prominence

given by the BPCC to some to whom he referred as 'temporary shops in the freedom movement', making a pointed reference to the last meeting held in convocation Hall which was addressed by the Defence Minister regarding Goa and Kashmir. This was a thinly veiled reference to Shri J. M. D'Souza and his Goan National Union. (Shri J. M. D'Souza was not seen in the audience). Shri Alvares went on to say that in no cabinet 'opposite portfolios' were allotted to the same Minister and illustrated his axiom by adding that Industry and Labour were portfolios which could be called opposite and which could not be handled by the same person, efficiently. He went on to wonder how one and the same Minister could look after our interests in Kashmir, where our policy was defensive, and at the same time handle the Goa problem, where we should take the offensive. He, therefore, demanded a separate Minister to deal with the Goa problem. He hastened to point out that the Minister presently handling the Kashmir and Goa portfolios was his personal friend and he had no intention of saying or implying anything against him (Minister). He said that the Portuguese authorities have been taking repressive measures in Goa and had started the same also in Daman following upon the nationalist activities there.

Shri L. J. D'Souza, member of the Goa Liberation Council, spoke next. Commenting upon the departure of a large number of Goans assembled in the neighbourhood of the venue of the meeting to witness a football match, he said that the Goan crowd which had just left could have easily attended this meeting and interpreted this fact as a glaring lack of interest and absence of courage on the question of the liberation of their motherland : Goa. He added that he knew that the Goans, in the heart of their hearts, desired liberation from the Portuguese yoke but their absolute lack of interest and apathy towards the liberation movement lent credence to the false propaganda of the Portuguese that the Goans themselves did not like the idea of liberation, and he blamed the Goans, more than the Portuguese, for such propaganda. He went on to say that the liberation of Goa was a matter essentially for the Goans to decide and act upon, whilst they could rest assured of the sympathy and support of their Indian brethren. Whilst witnessing the exodus of the foot-ball match spectators, the speaker asked of his audience if there were any amongst them who wanted the Portuguese to continue. His question was met with silence except a child near the dais, referring to whom the speaker said that it was shameful that except the child who has replied "No" none of them could even reply to his question. At this juncture one D'Souza, who frequents Goans meetings, remonstrated remarking that they had heard enough speeches and now wanted action and that if the speaker would lead them into Goa they would all follow willingly. A couple of persons standing near the man supported him.

Prof. M. R. Dandavate, Secy., Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, speaking next referred to the above incident and went on to say that the leaders and their followers keen on marching into Goa should first go and see the Indian Prime Minister about it rather than talk about the same at meetings. He criticised the Indian Government and the Indian Prime Minister bitterly, pointing out that they had blessed and encouraged the *satyagrahis* going into Goa in 1955 but had later chosen to discourage and ban the entry into Goa of Indian *satyagrahis*. He effectively argued against such discouragement and ban and justified his demand that *satyagrahis* should be allowed to enter Goa as according to Gandhian principles *satyagraha* had no territorial limits; peaceful coexistence with the Portuguese, ruling Indians on Indian soil and keeping their subjects in abject slavery, was not possible. He deplored the fact that the problem of Non-Portuguese enclaves had been made an international problem and added that if Goa ever became a NATO base, nothing short of taking

actual possession of it would be of any use. He remarked that the fearless *satyagrahis* were not afraid of Portuguese bullets and that they did not want any protection. When Prof. Dandavate first made a reference to the Prime Minister's policy and deplored it, Shri N. B. Kamat of Goan Students' association shouted, 'I protest' and went near the dais to seek permission to address the meeting (after the initial commotion arising from his shout was over). His request was not granted by the President. At about this time several members of the audience belonging to the Goa Liberation Council left the meeting. Prof. Dandavate kept himself busy with a blistering criticism of Government of India but did not say anything about the Portuguese authorities and their repressive measures, which was the main subject. Shri S. B. D'Silva and Luis Mendes were heard to remark that the meeting had been called without consulting them before hand and that they were grieved to see that the main subject of calling the meeting was ignored by the speakers who went on heaping criticism on India and Indian authorities. Prof. Dandavate also demanded that an armed intervention had been ruled out and the only way left to liberate Goa and the other enclaves was to lift the ban on the entry of Indian and non-Indian *satyagrahis* into Goa. If this wish of his was granted, he would personally lead *satyagrahis*; he expected them to turn out by the thousands into Goa and, if necessary, would even lay his life down for completing Indian Freedom.

Shri Gerald Pereira of Goan Peoples' Party harangued in the usual Communist vein bitterly criticising the Government of India and its officials for the policy and attitude towards the Goan problem which according to him had been mishandled. He castigated the imperial powers for trying to fish in troubled waters. He appealed to the Goans to take more active interest in the Goan problem. His speech was apparently not well received by the audience for a section started clapping till he sat down.

Prof. Lucio Rodrigues explained in brief the urgency of liberating the Portuguese enclaves.

The meeting ended with the playing of the National Anthem (Indian) and to the shouts of "Portugues Imperialists, Quit Goa" in Konkani.

Meeting Report

On the 21st September 1957 at 7-00 p.m. a meeting was held in front of the Principal Grave Club of Cuncolim, 9/11 Dukarwadi, Girgaum Road under the auspices of the N.C.G. and was presided over by Smt. Laura D'Souza. The following four persons spoke about the Goa Liberation Movement in general and pleaded of all the Goans residing in Bombay to take active part in the movement. All the speakers appealed to the Public to attend the National Goa Congress Meeting at the Cross Maidan in large number on the following day. There were about 30 to 40 persons in the meeting which concluded peacefully at 7-50 p.m.

Speaker :

1. Professor Lucio Rodrigues—He pleaded of the Goans to wake up as the time has now come for Goa to be free and one can no longer remain indifferent as the very future of Goans was at stake.

2. Shri Narvekar—He described the atrocities committed by the Portuguese on the *satyagrahis*.

Proceedings of 1st day

Bombay, 4th November, 1957.

Date and Time	2nd November 1957; 6-15 to 7-30 p.m.
Place	Jehangir Art Gallery, Museum.
Auspices	The National Congress (Goa)
Subject	10th Annual Session
President	Prof. Lucio Rodriques.
Speakers	Shri Shantilal Shah, V. L. Singbal, Naushir Bharucha, MP.
Audience	100 persons.
Remarks if any	About 82 delegates attended the session.

Shri V. L. Singbal, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee welcoming the guests and delegates, expressed his regret that the conference had to be held in Bombay, instead of in Goa, 500 miles away. Referring to the Portuguese pockets in India, he said that they were in fact, Indian pockets. The Goans political prisoners were still languishing in the Portuguese jails in Goa and abroad, because of their *satyagraha* against the Portuguese regime. He paid compliments to the Goan *satyagrahis* including Smt. Sudha Joshi, for their heroic efforts to liberate Goa, disregarding the atrocities and brutalities committed by the Portuguese. He remarked that so long as Goa, Diu and Daman were not freed, India's freedom movement was not complete. It was, therefore, the concern of the Government of India and the Indian people also and it was wrong to say that it was the concern of the Goans only although the character of the Goan struggle should predominantly be Goan, in order to avoid the adverse criticisms of the western countries. While appreciating Government of India's stand on the Goan Issue, the speaker felt that the Government of India could give assistance to the Goan freedom movement.

Shri Shantilal Shah, Minister for Labour, inaugurating the Conference, declared that the Government of Bombay was deeply interested in the freedom movement of Goa, which was surrounded by the Bombay State border. He did not agree with the Portuguese claim that Goa was a "Overseas province". Referring to the multiplicity of parties trying to free Goa, he observed that all these parties should come nearer in view of their common goal. He told them not to be disappointed and give up their hopes on the technique of nonviolence and reminded them of Gandhiji's efforts for 30 years to achieve Independence for India by non-violent means.

Prof. Lucio Rodriques read out the speech as per attached copy.

The 1st day proceeding ended at 7-30 p.m.

2nd day's proceedings closed session 3rd November 1957.

The proceedings of the Conference started at 9-30 a.m. under the presidentship of Prof. Rodriques. About 50 delegates were present. It was held in common.

Shri Peter Alvares report of the All Goa Congress Committee was taken for consideration. There was a great deal of discussion on the issue of the "sealed border" para is of the report.

Shri N. C. Bharucha, referring to the Government of India's policy *viz.* not to use force for the liberation of Portuguese enclaves, said that he was unable to see when the Portuguese enclaves would be liberated. While he was aware of the international law and relations in the country of nation, now it was possible for any Government to sit with folded hands and look upon the violation of the territory, which was a common feature with the Portuguese Government recently. According to the speaker, it was possible for the Goans to liberate the Portuguese enclaves, fulfilling the conditions and the terms of the Government of India by taking up the line of action, namely to grant Dadra and Nagar Haveli a status of Sovereign State and to leave the question of liberation of other Portuguese territories to the Goans. If this was done, he was confident that the Portuguese pockets would be liberated in a couple of years. He was unable to follow why the Government was not allowing Indians to offer *satyagraha* in Goa when the Government claimed the Portuguese pockets as part of India. He hoped that the Government would see reason and substance of the argument of the opposition partly in the Lok Sabha and that they would accept the policy. Whatever may be the judgement of the Hague Court on Dadra-Nagar Haveli issue, he was confident that no Portuguese soldiers would dare touch their feet on the Indian soil. He pleaded for a little but stronger policy on the Goa issue.

Shri (Prof.) Lucio Rodrigues moved two resolutions : (1) Condolence on the death of Anton Miranda and Gomes Pereira and (2) Paying homage to the martyrs of Goa's freedom.

The two resolutions were passed by standing up for a minute.

The consensus opinion of the members was that the complete withdrawal of all the resolutions by the Government of India was necessary in view of the great inconvenience caused to the Goan nationals. The "Permit system" also came in for criticism. Shri Narvekar, Shri D'Souza, H. R. Limos, Francis Menezes, Rozario, De Cruz, Dr. Laura D'Souza participated in the discussion.

The conference adjourned at 12-45 p.m.

The Third Session of the conference began at 2-00 p.m.

Res. No. 3 on "Colonialism" was moved by Shri Laxmikant Borkar and seconded by Frank Miranda.

Res. No. 4 on "Political Prisoners" was moved by Almeida and seconded by the president Prof. L. Rodrigues, who expressed his grave concern for the Goan political prisoners, who were languishing in solitary confinements.

Res. No. 5 on "Freedom Movement in Perspective" by Shri Francis Menezes and seconded by Shri Peter Alvares.

Shri Peter Alvares explained at length the necessity of establishing the Provisional Government in Dadra and Nagar Haveli with a view to carry on freedom struggle in Goa. He also demanded help of the Indians in the goan freedom movement. He felt that the Indian Government's help would also hasten the liberation of Goa, Diu and Daman.

Shri Menezes, M. S. D'Souza, Raikar, D'Cruz, Smt. Laura D'Souza and Sukhtankar spoke for and against the "Permit System" of the Government of India. The President wanted to modify the resolution to "further" relax the Permit System but the majority demanded complete removal of the Permit System to avoid inconvenience and malpractices carried on by certain persons. The resolution part II and IV was accordingly amended as shown in the attached copy.

All the above resolutions were unanimously passed. Statement of Accounts for the years 1955-56 and 1956-57 was also read out and passed unanimously.

Resolution No. 1

This Conference of the National Congress (Goa) mourns the deaths of Anton Miranda and Gomes Pereira.

Both of them were about the considerable sacrifices in the cause of Goan Freedom. Their position in the intellectual world, the former as a judge of the Supreme Court of Goa and the latter as the Leader of the Bar, gave a status to the whole movement for freedom, nullified much of the boast of the Portuguese about their cultural and historic mission. Their death at this crisis is a severe loss to the people.

The Conference shares in the bereavement and authorises the President to send messages of sympathy of the Conference to the relatives of the deceased.

Resolution No. 2

This Conference of the 10th Session of the National Congress (Goa) pays its reverent homage to the martyrs of Goa's freedom.

Martyrdom is a privilege that comes only to a few and that too to the best and most courageous of men. The martyrs in the cause of Goa's freedom have achieved a noble purpose. They have by their sacrifices highlighted the dynamics of the peaceful struggle against international injustice and in the manner of their death exposed the pretensions of the mission of the Portuguese in the colonies. The brutality inflicted on the martyrs has dehumanised the Portuguese. By their peaceful resistance to brutality these martyrs have earned for themselves a niche in the galaxy of Indian patriots who laid down their lives for India's complete freedom.

The Conference shares with the Indian Nation this bereavement. It authorises the president to send a copy of this resolution to the families of these martyrs as a token of association in this tragedy.

Resolution No. 3

This Conference of the National Congress (Goa) sends its greetings to the people of the Colonial world.

It offers its congratulations to the people of Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Malaya for the successful termination of their freedom struggle and their entry into the comity of free nations of the world. Their achievements are outstanding contributions to the cause of the world peace and for the development and advancement of their country and its people. The more the colonial peoples achieve sovereign nationhood, the greater the shrinkage of those under colonial domination. The march of the free world is a direct contributory factor to the success of those still struggling for freedom.

A large part of humanity still remains under medieval colonialism. Their future is a challenge to the conscience of mankind and to the principles of the United Nations. It is a matter of great regret that the issues concerning colonial freedom are not debated on the merits of the case but upon the basis of the Cold War alignment. If peace has to be restored to a strife ridden world then the march of the colonial people towards Freedom is the best guarantee. It removes from the sphere of conflict a large section of people of the world

and in return reduces the area of the Cold War. The *state* to freedom of the colonial people is an imperative necessity. The conference expresses its solidarity with the people of Algeria, Kenya, Africa, Cyprus, and other *colonial* people and hopes that the people of Goa, Daman and Diu will be able to contribute with their co-operation to the complete elimination of all colonialism everywhere.

Political Prisoners

The Conference of the National Congress (Goa) sends its fraternal greetings to the prisoners of the Goan Freedom Movement in exile in Portugal, Africa and in the jails in Goa. Their fortitude and morale have earned for them the respect of the nation as they have also placed upon it a responsibility for their early release.

While desiring to share with these brave sons of the freedom movement their suffering and sacrifices, the Conference cannot but express its grave concern over the state of their continuous imprisonment. Those exiled to Portugal and Africa have been kept in exile and detention even though they have served their sentences, while one of them has been imprisoned in exile without trial. They have remained all through these ten years since their exile uncared for, and the nation and the Government of India must share the responsibility for neglect in attempt to secure their early return to their Motherland. The Freedom Movement hopes that the Government of India and the Indian People will at last extend to these prisoners recognition of their role in India's Freedom Struggle and attempt to secure their early release.

Those in the prisons of Goa are in no better condition. The savage sentences inflicted on them, including the women *satyagrahis*, has exposed the Portuguese as bereft of all human considerations and values. The treatment in jail has been vindictive and cruel, and many a prisoner has succumbed to fiendish violence, or been driven to a state of mental instability or permanently maimed. Continued cellular confinement has told upon the health of women prisoners, and there is hardly any one of them that has escaped the ill effects of continuous imprisonment for the last 3 years. Their condition calls for immediate intervention by the people and the Government of India, so that at least their sufferings may be alleviated and the cares and responsibilities removed. Their confinement is a challenge to the conscience of the world which has successfully rehabilitated prisoners of the Korean war and of other political conflicts.

Portuguese policy towards her political prisoners in exile and in Goa, is an attempt at persecution that has characterised her regime in the colonies. To the Indian people it is a challenge that they can contemplate with equanimity such brutal suffering meted out to their own people in Goa. The Conference, therefore, appeals to the people and the Government of India to rush to the succour of these prisoners and save humanity from being sacrificed in Goa.

Freedom Movement in Perspective

While reviewing the freedom and anti-colonial movement in Goa, Daman and Diu the 10th Session of the National Congress (Goa) pay its tribute to these freedom fighters and all those who have cooperated in this struggle for the freedom of the country. It expressed its gratitude to all those outside India who have lent their support to our cause, thus contributing to the end of colonialism and freedom for humanity, both ends which contribute towards the establishment of world peace. In particular the Conference congratulates

all those who have answered the call for a national effort for freedom and participated in the satyagrahas hitherto, and in other ways contributed courageously to free the country of the Portuguese. To those who laid down their lives the Conference pays its respectful homage.

After the period of the satyagraha the people of the country are faced with the question of carrying on the struggle for freedom to its successful conclusion. The revolutionary forces still have their dynamism and resources capable of carrying on the struggle. Along with the Goan freedom fighters there are the people and the Government of India both of whom are committed by a common responsibility of nationality and history to the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. These forces must find release and an opportunity their full deployment. It is necessary for the Government of India to permit the people of India to participate in the Movement in fulfilment of their long struggle against every form of foreign domination in the country and their responsibility to India's complete freedom.

In the country there are two areas liberated by the Movement from Portuguese domination. These areas of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were a part of Portuguese territory in India. Their liberation now affords an opportunity for the people of Goa, Daman and Diu to reorganise its resources and from this vantage point, both psychologically and from the point of resources, to carry on the struggle for freedom for the remaining areas. The Movement appeals to the Government of India to permit it the use of this area and the setting up a Provisional Government of the Goan People there or in India.

The successful conclusion of the freedom movement is urgently necessary because of the serious situation in Goa. The terror unleashed by the Portuguese in order to suppress it still continues unabated, and inhuman treatment of prisoners had taken a serious toll of life and permanently maimed many. Persons suspected of political activity or association are ruthlessly beaten up and imprisoned. The terror stalks the country side making social life impossible and the honour of our womanhood exposed to degradation. The process of dehumanisation is calculated to stamp out all resistance by the movement. This serious situation calls for an early remedy, and the people and the Government of India must intervene to save the honour of our women and to save from brutality a section of our people. Not less important is the facility to allow Goans free access into India. The 'sealed border' policy should be relaxed to permit entry into and exit from India of Goans seeking educational employment and social facilities. During the period between two intense periods of struggle confining in Goans inside Goa may have far-reaching social and economic consequences that hurt the people of Goa only. The Conference therefore appeals to the Government of India to permit the free entry of Goans into India.

In spite of all attempts to isolate the Movement from the larger context of the anti-colonial struggle, the Goan Freedom Movement is organically linked up with the freedom of large areas of Africa, Indonesia, China and of Portugal itself. All these areas are ruled by police terror, which is an extension of the Police State in Portugal itself. It has often been said that the freedom of Goa will loosen up the fascist police grip over the Portuguese people and that is probably the reason so many Portuguese liberals saw a ray of hope in the Goan Freedom Movement. The Movement, therefore, calls upon the people under Portuguese colonial rule everywhere to act in concert for their own liberation and that of the Portuguese people. From the anti-colonial world it seeks cooperation and aid.

If all these forces act in concert, spearheaded by the Goan people, there is no doubt that the Goan Freedom Movement can reach a successful conclusion soon. The forces of the revolution must be encouraged in order to succeed. It primarily rests upon the people of Goa and the people and the Government of India to rally together to achieve this noble destiny.

Report of the All Goa Congress Committee to the 10th Session

Friends,

This Report is presented under the authority of the All Goa Congress Committee, the interim body of the National Congress (Goa). It covers the period of the Goan Freedom Struggle from the 6th April 1955 to the 31st October 1957. It is a period that witnessed the most intense form of the struggle, a period of freedom history flowering under the presidentship of our Leader Shrimati Sudha Joshi, from the moment she presided over the 9th Session of the National Congress (Goa) in Mapuca, Goa, an act of challenge and great courage that led to her arrest and that of her colleagues, and their subsequent imprisonment.

2. The *satyagraha* of Shrimati Sudha Joshi was more than an act of political courage. It established the moral status of the freedom movement, and will live in the annals of the Indian people as an inspiring symbol of Indian womanhood, generous and noble in her sacrifices and resourceful in national emergencies. Along with her colleagues, both men and women in Goa's prisons today, she has earned for the Movement the respect and admiration of the Portuguese. When all seems to be at a stop at the moment the sacrifices and moral stature of the political prisoners is a challenge to all that our destiny still remains unfulfilled, and to the Portuguese that they can never suppress the spirit of freedom, though they may kill the flesh.

3. This period also covers the period of the *satyagraha* in Goa upto and on 15th August, and by the Indians from the 18th May 1955 to the 20th August 1955.

4. The Movement also during this period claimed the largest sacrifices. The martyrs who laid down their lives in Goa, and in attempts at *satyagraha* from India, were victims of savagery and beastiality that has hardly any parallel. Peaceful and unarmed *satyagrahis* were shot at from point blank range or maimed and mutilated till they could no longer survive. But with unflinching devotion to a mission and national purpose the victims refused to yield or retreat. Death was a fulfilment. The Conference pays its reverent homage to these martyrs. Their sacrifices rank them among the greatest of the heroes of the Indian Freedom Revolution.

5. In this period also the entire perspective of the struggle changed with the new policy adopted by the Government of India. It was a far cry from August 15, 1954 to the present day policies.

6. Soon after the session of the National Congress (Goa) in Mapuca, the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, the counterpart in India of the National Congress (Goa) decided to officially participate directly in the freedom movement, and with this end in view mobilised the people of India. The first *satyagraha* took place on the 18th May and was led by Senapati Bapat und Nanasaheb Goray, M. P. Subsequent *satyagrahas* were led by Shirubhau Limaye, Atmaram Patil, Jagannathrao Joshi, Rajaram Patil, Madhu Limaye, Modak

Guruji, Chenappavali etc. But the Movement could not wait merely on the efforts of a few *satyagrahis* and it had to reach a final solution. The Goa Vimochan Samiti took the decision to stage a mass *satyagraha* on India's Independence Day—15th August 1955.

7. The mass *satyagraha* of 15th August 1955 calls for a special mention because of the various issues involved. The spontaneous response to the call of volunteers is the strongest evidence of the inseparableness of the Goan Freedom Movement from that of India's freedom. Volunteers that converged towards Goa from every part of India is undying proof of this. With sacrifices, even unto death, the people of India fought the common battle for India's freedom in Goa, Daman and Diu. Never in India's history has the call to freedom's effort been so spontaneously and enthusiastically answered. *Satyagrahis* paid their own railways and bus fares or walked miles to participate in the struggle. It is a saga of effort flowing out of a common national mission and purpose.

8. The *satyagraha* of 15th August raised an unprecedented tempo and anxiety in the country and when the news of the mass shooting and murder of innocent *satyagrahis* reached the nation, emotion broke out in anger and demand for intervention by the Government of India. The Government of India's reply was to stop the entire *satyagraha*.

9. The happenings of this *satyagraha* must be recorded for history. The Government of India's hesitant policy has contributed to the disaster that took place on this fateful day. The sudden suspension of transport facilities threw the whole organisation out of gear. The confusion resulted in the *satyagrahis* going to points of entry which they were asked to avoid for fear of walking into machine-gun nests. The massacre was inhuman. Further, the Portuguese interpreted this to mean that the Government of India was against the *satyagraha* taking place. This encouraged them in their repressive policy for they understood the Government of India as having a common policy with them on the issue of a *satyagraha*, and at every point they shoot to kill. The heroism of the *satyagrahis* was inspiring. With faith in their leaders they went forward to claim Goa, Daman and Diu for the people of India. Special mention must be made here of the undaunted courage of the batches led by Shrimati Subhadra Devi, V. D. Chitale, Vasantrao Oak at Banda, of Sheshnath Wadekar and Hirve Guruji at Terekhol, of Ishwarlal Desai at Daman and Jaswant Mehta at Diu.

10. Even with the news of this slaughter reaching the world far and wide, it did not deter a batch of over 1,000 *satyagrahis* walking on to Goa from Belgaum under the leadership of Shri M. R. Dandavate. These 1,000 *satyagrahis* were stranded in Belgaum about 70 miles away from the Goa border on account of the Government's decision not to allow them transport. But in their determination not to go back to their homes unless they had at least offered *satyagraha* in Goa they left Belgaum on foot and marched for three days into Goa through jungle and rain, ultimately offering the last *satyagraha* of the whole effort. It was a symbolic and to that phase of the Movement.

Special mention must be made of the cooperation of the Indian people. All along the *satyagraha* route they fed the *satyagrahis*. In their affection and desire to associate themselves in some way with this last struggle for India's independence, people sent food, pickles, clothes, money and medical supplies from distant places. Demonstrations and *hartals* were held all over the country. Doctors and nurses volunteered for service, and but for them the toll of life would have been greater. Indeed the *satyagrahis* and their sufferings symbolised the national will of the people of India.

11. And suddenly, as if to put back an unwelcome past the Government of India banned all further *satyagraha*, and in such a manner that created serious repercussions in the basic problems of the Movement.

12. The developments in respect of the Government of India's policy towards Goa could not but have their effect on the situation in Goa itself. In the various fields of freedom-endeavour these repercussions were immediately felt. They have their effect upon the Movement and the people inside. For the purpose of convenience they are discussed separately, issue-wise, rather than chronologically.

13. *The Political Prisoners.*—The most distressing plight is of the prisoners in the jails in Goa and those in exile in Portugal and in her African colonies. The *satyagrahis* exiled in 1946 are still the victims of neglect or indifference. There is hardly even a recognition that they are prisoners for our own national freedom. If there was this consciousness, then in the 10 years or more since they have been exiled a movement could have been initiated for their release. Even prisoners of a violent war have their status and privileges defined under the Geneva Convention. The world has witnessed a Revolution since of the treatment of political prisoners. In Korea and Viet Minh the Government of India has interested itself in the political victims of these areas. The Goan political prisoners are not even recognised as such.

Of the over three hundred *satyagrahis* in Goa, most of them have been over 2½ years in solitary confinement. Many, specially the young women, are suffering from the effect of continuous prison life. The maimed and the injured are not given adequate treatment for recovery. Even harassment in prison, long after conviction continues, with the result that a serious deterioration in the prisoners' health has taken place.

The people of India must reach out to help these prisoners. The limitations of Government's policy should not hamper their effort at relieving suffering. The people of the City of Bombay could raise a Fund to aid distress and for rehabilitation.

The policy of the Government of India needs a drastic change prisoners are not to be left to their dark date. In the beginning the Government did warn the Portuguese of serious repercussions if the Goan political prisoners were ill-treated. But subsequently the policy changed in an announcement that it was helpless in the matter of Goan nationals. Where the previous policy afforded the prisoners some protection, the one to-day leaves them to the mercy of the Portuguese.

14. *The Terror in Goa.*—Goa, Daman and Diu to-day are under a fascist terror of the most inhuman kind. The people are arrested, imprisoned or even beaten to death on the slightest suspicion. Never was there such a complete surrender by our Government of its people to the mercy of another political power. The terror and brutality increased with the gradual withdrawal by the Government of India of any responsibility in the Freedom Movement. Assurance to the Portuguese that no action would be undertaken only served to give them immunity, rather than to express an aspect of our neutrality and peaceful policy. Even if it is not a political responsibility it is surely a human one when a section of our people are being brutally treated. The curtain of a separate political sovereignty cannot absolve us of our responsibilities to our people separated by a political accident. The regime of repression in Goa is not a historical incident but a continuing and distressing fact. The rape of the masses is complete, physically and economically.

15. *The Sealed Border.*—The policy of the *sealed border* has outlived its utility and today it serves only to cause serious economic and social inconveniences to the Goan people. The Goan people being so much socially and economically dependent upon India, any policy of denial in today's circumstances hurts the people more than the Portuguese. At one time the prohibition of the free passage of the people to and fro helped the freedom struggle, but today it is a mere inconvenience that results in estranged relationships. The theory that a people denied any opportunity would revolt against their rulers is not borne out by facts. On the contrary the people of Goa have fought on the basis of the sheer compulsion of a common nationality. The Government of India must be requested to allow free access to the Goan people.

16. What is of more dangerous consequence is the policy adopted by the Portuguese of squeezing out the indigenous business-men. More and more the Portuguese are forcing Indians and Goans to sell out to the Europeans so that the stake of foreigners in Goa increases in proportion to their investments, and Goa gets more involved in the politics of trade.

17. The net result of policies has been that Goa is now drawn into the area of the cold war by every conceivable opportunity. The policy of isolating the Goan Movement has helped in this process. India, in its conviction to solve the issue by peaceful means, may yet awake to find the Portuguese forcing a situation where the Government of India will have to give up its present policy and undertake just the sort of action that it desires to avoid. An escape from this possibility is in seizing the initiative.

18. The most crucial reaction is in the field of the struggle. The struggle for Goa's freedom got its impetus from the concept of its organic solidarity with the people of India. For long the Goan problem has always been looked upon as one for solution after independence from the British. It was a staggered right for India's total freedom, and if the Indian and the Goan people participated in the struggle against the British, it is natural that now they should jointly endeavour against the Portuguese.

For it to be otherwise would be wrong naturally and historically. All along for the many generations of the Goan people who fought the Portuguese for freedom, the perspective has always been one of India's freedom. From the day when the Portuguese seized Goa every successive resistance or attempt at freedom has always been cast in the context of India's nationhood. It would, therefore, be unnatural for anyone today to set apart the two inseparables, political contingency notwithstanding.

The attempt of some persons and of the Government of India to play down the Indian effort or to effect a complete divorce between the two has the effect of just beating the drums of the Portuguese. If the Goan Freedom Struggle received so much notice it is because of the context of the Indian national effort. Divorced from this it becomes just another anticolonial front whose dimensions would not cause as much as a flutter as compared with the issue of Algeria or Cyprus. The Portuguese aim at just this, to divorce it from the Indian context and thereby lessen its gravity and importance, and as a consequence its international repercussions. We would appeal to all not to be unwitting instruments of Portuguese policy. The movement for Goa, Daman and Diu is a movement for India's complete freedom. Our resources, and international consequence depend upon it. Let us not do the movement any injustice and thereby weaken its perspective and its resources.

19. The Report has confined itself so far to matters of policy that affect the movement for freedom. It is certain that the cumulative effect of all these policies will impel the movement forward to a successful conclusion.

20. There are, however, certain organisational matters that require mention. In India the forces of Goan liberation find themselves grouped separately, thus weakening both their resolve and the tenacity of the movement. The total forces are small in number, and it is inevitable that, if they are divided amongst themselves, the advantage is to the Portuguese. It is this disunity that the Portuguese have taken advantage of upto now, and exploited the situation in India out of all proportion to the whole issue. Unfortunately some voices in India have taken up and given force to Portuguese propaganda. The result is unhappy.

While unity is desirable and must be sought for even at the cost of certain sacrifices, disunity is not an unusual factor in freedom movements. In the struggle period from 1954-55 it did not at all count for anything, though it would have added a little more to freedom's resources. In today's circumstances unity is essential, but not at any cost.

The National Congress (Goa), and others, often made efforts in the past to achieve organisational unity but these efforts did not succeed fully. The demand was often made that all organisations should dissolve themselves and form a new one. The National Congress (Goa) could not agree to this as it would cause a break in historic tradition, and impair institutional continuity. Both these factors are necessary for the future. Nevertheless a large amount of unification did come about as a result of these efforts, and perhaps more groups and members merged into the National Congress (Goa) than chose to remain outside.

In this context another controversy arose that threatened for some time to reach serious proportions. There are some amongst us who go further than those who advocated a purely Goan effort for freedom. These former are of the opinion that any Goan who desires to contribute to the freedom movement should not belong to any Indian political party. The fear appears to be that the conflicts in the Indian political situation will complicate the issue of Goa's freedom all the more.

The view is erroneous. There are already enough contradictions in Goa's political situation that have grown up independently. In addition many freedom fighters of Goa's freedom have had their lessons and experience in the Indian struggle. It is improbable that any Goan living in India could be immune to political conditions here. Rather than a disadvantage a political background has a distinct superiority over a blank mind.

21. The Indian counterpart of the Movement is organised by the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti. It is the national front for Goa's liberation. It is necessary to strengthen it and maintain organic relations with it. It would be helpful if all political parties in India would be its members, and that all effort for Goa's freedom would be through it and not separately. Any attempts to associate it with opposition politics are dishonest.

22. Of more damaging consequence than the question of disunity in the rank of freedom fighters is bureaucratisation of the Movement. In recent months the Movement finds itself in increasing difficulties, and unnecessary obstacles are placed in the way of free function. Every freedom struggle lives on the initiative of the workers and on the capacity to sacrifice and to take risks. It is a voluntary effort to achieve a life's mission. But when bureaucratisation takes place unnecessary hindrances are placed in the way and in proportion as bureaucratisation increases, the initiative and the will to take risk recedes. The Goan Freedom Movement is at the present moment hampered by this unnecessary and unfavourable procedure. The self respect of the Movement demands release from these crippling and emasculating influences so that once again the Movement may gain that tempo that it reached at its zenith.

23. Even if all these policy issues and organisational matters were settled to satisfaction, there would yet remain the problem of the actual struggle itself. It is fortunate for the Movement that there is today an area of liberated territory in Dadra and Nagar Haveli which was wrested from the Portuguese by the Movement. These areas are today in the limelight because of the case in the International Court at the Hague. Whatever the outcome of this case, there can be no question of the Portuguese having any access to them. The people of the freedom struggle have paid for this freedom with their efforts and sacrifices and the people of India can never accept that the limitations of Government's policy and International Agreements would once again jeopordise the freedom of these areas. The entire people of India will rise to a man to defend this hard-won liberty.

But this is a responsibility of the defence of freedom. The Movement has still to fulfil its purpose. The offensive now can legitimately be taken from the liberated areas. Their resources are available for the launching of the final assault for freedom. The psychology of a people functioning from a liberated area will release untold forces that are latent in the situation. Therefore, for the sake of the struggle the liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar Haveli should be made over to the liberation Movement and the Movement should be permitted to set up a Provisional Government of the Goan people.

24. There is not the slightest doubt that, if all the policy and organizational impediments are removed, the Goan Freedom Movement will succeed sooner than later. For succeed it must. The anti-colonial world has in the last three years marched towards success. The nations of the Free World have recently welcomed Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Malaya as equal partners in the fulfilment of freedom. To the people of these free nations the people of Goa send their greetings.

As the Free World grows, the colonial world shrinks. This process is inevitable. The march of history in this direction cannot be halted. Soon other people will join the ranks of the free. In that direction is our inevitable destiny.

But we cannot wait upon events. The people of Goa, Daman and Diu must seize opportunities that determine the course of history. It is to this great endeavour that this Conference calls the people of Goa and India. The road is difficult, but success must be ours, as it has been with others before us.

Confidential

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.
Bombay, 4th November 1957.

Meeting Report

Time and Date	6-00 to 8-00 p.m., 3rd November 1957.
Place	Chowpatty Sands.
Auspices	National Congress (Goa).
President	Shri Lucio Rodrigues.
Speakers	Peter Alvares, the President, B. T. Ranadive, N. C. Bharucha and M. Mahajan.
Subject	Annual Session of the Congress.
Audience	About 1,000 persons were present.
Remarks if any	Ranadive and Bharuchas' Speeches well received.

Speaking in Hindi, Shri Peter Alvares, stated that the Independence of India from foreign rule had no meaning and would be incomplete, unless and until the Portuguese enclaves were liberated and called upon the people of India to actively help the people of Goa to liberate themselves. Advocating a non-violent policy to liberate the Portuguese enclaves, Shri Peter Alvares urged upon the Government of India to allow all to participate in the freedom struggle of Goa. He demanded the establishment of provisional Government in the liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Referring to the case in the International Court regarding Dadra and Nagar Haveli he stated that the liberated territories would never be given back to the Portuguese.

Shri L. Rodrigues, in his speech, refuted the argument of Dr. Salazar that 80 thousand Goans of Bombay were loyal to the Portuguese regime in Goa. He asked the Portuguese Government that if the people of Goa were happy under the regime of Salazar, why the economic conditions of the people were day by day deteriorating. Referring to the sealing off of the border areas he said that it would be in the interests of the freedom movement to allow free entry of Goans to and fro. While advocating a non-violent policy to liberate Goa, he appealed to the political parties and the Government of India to help them in liberating Goa. He also called upon people of Goa to draw inspiration from their leaders and take an active part in the freedom movement.

Shri B. T. Ranadive, speaking in Marathi, congratulated the freedom fighters of Goa and urged upon them to form one solid organisation, which would be in a position to devote undivided attention to the liberation of Goa. Referring to the "permit system" he alleged that the Government was not giving permits to those persons, who were genuinely interested in the liberation of Goa, but was giving permits to persons interested in commercial and industrial activities. He also alleged that only Nagarwalla, his policemen and some blackmarketeers could move freely near the border and not the persons, who were genuinely interested in the liberation of Goa. He demanded the detention under the Preventive Detention Act, of Indians, who invested capital in Goa, as they were indirectly helping the "Fascist regime" of Salazar. He characterised the freedom movement of Goa as the continuation of the freedom movement of India and called upon Indians to help the struggle and make it a success.

Shri N. Bharucha, speaking in Hindi, complained that though Shri Nehru was for the liberation and integration with India of Goa, he (Shri Nehru) was not allowing Indians to offer "*Satyagraha*" in Goa. He assured the audience that during the course of debate on foreign policy in the coming session of the Lok Sabha, he would demand a change in the policy of the Government of India in regard to the liberation of Goa, so that the foreigners could be driven out as early as possible. He opined that it was the duty of Indians to help and participate in the freedom struggle of Goa.

Shri M. Mahajan, speaking in Marathi, pledged the support of his party to the freedom movement in Goa and appealed to the audience to keep up their enthusiasm in liberating Goa.

Shri L. Rodrigues proposed a vote of thanks.

Meeting Report

Bombay, 26th November 1957.

Date and Time	25th November 1957; 6-30 to 7-30 p.m.
Place	Cross Maidan, Dhobi Talao.
Auspices	The National Congress (Goa) The Goan People's Party Azad Gomantak Dal.

Subject	Goans' pledge to liberate Goa.
President	Shri T. B. Cunha.
Speakers	Shri J. D'souza, Laxmikant Borkar, Peter Alvares, George Vaz, Gerald Pareira.
Audience	300 Goans.
Remarks if any	There was not much enthusiasm among the Goans although all Goan parties came together for the first time on one platform.

Shri J. D'Souza (Azad Gomantak Dal) recalled the Portuguese atrocities on the Muslims when they landed in Goa, and wondered how the Pakistan Muslims had become now friends. The Portuguese were brutes and were not knowing any mercy, and it was not necessary for the Goans to inform of the Portuguese brutalities because they knew very well how the Goan prisoners were treated in Jails. The Azad Gomantak Dal had now taken a vow "Do or Die" for the liberation of their motherland. He opined that by any action, whether violent or non-violent, the Goans must be able to secure their freedom.

Shri T. B. Cunha, President, explaining the importance of the day, said that 25th November was a "Shameful day" for Goans because on this very day the Portuguese landed and occupied Goa. The day was also a sad day for the Indians because the occupation of Goa marked the beginning of foreign domination in India. He then referred to President Iskander Mirza's visit to Portugal recently and remarked that high placed persons like Mirza had forgotten the historical significance of the conquest of Goa and the oppression and atrocities caused by the Portuguese on the Muslims of Goa, as a result of which the Muslim population was exterminated in Goa. Perhaps Mirza did not know the main objective of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests, and reminded him that they aimed at destroying Muslim power and breaking the Arab trade monopoly with the East.

He said that on this day the Goans should remember how they were deprived of their civil liberties. While the entire Asia was free from foreign domination, Goa was still dominated by the Portuguese. He concluded his speech by saying how long this great country, India, was going to tolerate the Portuguese domination over Goa.

Shri Laxmikant Borkar (National Congress, Goa) emphasised the need for unity and solidarity among the Goans, among whom there were many political parties. Because of their disunity, the Goans had lost their prestige even in India. He declared that the Goans blood and sacrifices would not go in vain and that the Portuguese would have to give their answer.

Shri George Vaz (Goan People's Party) said that the Goans should not be demoralised on account of unsuccessful attempt in 1954. The Goans should now decide whether violent or non-violent action would be useful to them for the liberation of Goa. Referring to formation of the Provisional Government in Nagar Haveli, he said that all Goans must unite together and then form a Provisional Government in Nagar Haveli. He also reminded the audience that the Goans were treated as foreigners under the Foreigners' Act in India and that they must demand withdrawal of this Act because Goans were the Citizens of India. The Goans would have autonomy under Government of India and not under the Portuguese, who would never give autonomy to the Goans. Dr. Salazar's rule was a fascist rule and as such the Goans would not like to have it.

Shri Peter Alvares said that the Portuguese had remained behind while the other imperialists had left Asiatic countries. He invited the attention of the Goans to the recent elections in Portugal on which Dr. Vivian Bose and Shri P. Trikamdas had brought out a report. Even the Portuguese had no elementary rights during the general elections held last year. Even the American magazine "*Time*" had criticised the Portuguese rule, and said that it was "one party election show". The workers in Portugal were drawing the lowest wages than in Europe and Africa, and that the Salazar's Government should not claim to maintain the European civilization in Goa. Goa had become a foothold in the cold war against India. On account of Kashmir issue, Pakistan was browbeating against India. It was unfair for Pakistan to make friendship with Portugal. He said that Pandit Nehru's *Panchshila* doctrine could not be applied to Portuguese because they were fascists. He was sure that the *Panchashila* doctrine would not bring freedom to Goa. He supported the idea of provisional Government in Nagar Haveli from which place they could carry on war against the Portuguese. The Goan struggle was a common struggle because the end of Salazar's rule meant the end of fascist rule, wherein lay the freedom of Goans as well as the African and the Portuguese also. The Government of India should not prevent the Goans from forming a provisional Government in Nagar Haveli.

Shri Gerald Pareira also spoke in the same strain. He said that the Asiatic countries became free because the balance of power of the Communist countries had increased. As a consequence of which the imperialists left one after another countries in Asia. He appealed to form unity forgetting all their differences.

Shri Laxmikant Borkar read out the pledge as per attached pamphlet which was passed unanimously.

(Signed)

Freedom pledge

We, the people of Goa, believe that it is our inalienable right, as that of any other people, to possess freedom, and to take part in the Government of our own country on the basis of equality.

We further believe that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have the moral obligation to alter that Government, or to abolish it.

The Portuguese government in Goa has not only deprived us of our freedom, but also imposed its will upon an unwilling people, exploiting us and ruining our land economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.

We believe, therefore, that the Portuguese government has no moral foundation to exist, nor to continue existing in Goa; that Goa must inevitably sever connection with Portugal, attain freedom and fulfil its political and cultural destiny within the family of the peoples of India on the basis of self-determination.

We, therefore, solemnly resolve to re-dedicate ourselves to the task of gaining the *Freedom of Goa*.

25th November 1957.

Secret

No. 1/POR/57.

Office of the Deputy Inspector General
of Police, C.I.D., B.S., Bombay-26,
Dated 5th December 1957.

To

The Special Officer, M.E.A.,
Sachivalaya, Bombay.

Sub.—Goa Affairs : Meeting Report.

Enclosed for information is a meeting report held on 26th November 1957 under the auspices of the National Congress (Goa), the People's Party and Azad Gomantak Dal.

(Signed)

For Addl. D I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Secret

For Branch S. B. (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 25th November 1957.

Source Report

It is reliably learnt that the National Congress Goa, Bombay Branch, have decided to demonstrate before the Office of the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan at Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay I, on Tuesday, the 26th November 1957. Goans intending to take part in the demonstration have been requested to assemble at 1 p.m. on that day behind Lloyds Bank, Bombay 1.

The demonstration is learnt to have been organised in protest of the reported remarks passed in Spain by the Pakistani Home Minister, Mr. Gulam Mohammed Talpur, that Goa belonged to Portugal and Goans are loyal to the Portuguese.

May be perused.

Superintendent 'A' Division and H. O. (G.B.P.) will be informed and asked to make necessary arrangements.

Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Goan people in Bombay to the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.

"On behalf of the Goan Freedom Movement and the Goan people in Bombay, we desire to protest against the Pakistan Government's policy in supporting Portugal's claim on Goa, Daman and Diu.

Ever since the freedom struggle began, the Goan people have had the misfortune in not being able to secure the co-operation of the people and the Government of Pakistan in the struggle for colonial freedom. This is all the more regrettable inasmuch as Pakistan is a country that has attained her freedom only recently from colonial domination and under the circumstances it was expected, and naturally, that the Government of Pakistan would fully support a similar freedom movement of a people who were once, just a mere 10 years ago companions in the struggle from British Imperialism.

The Goan people remember with sorrow that during the more intense period of the struggle, Pakistans Prime Ministry, Mr. Suhrawardhy, visited Goa and lent support to the fascist repression there. That Pakistan similarly gave facilities to the Portuguese in attempting to evade the economic consequences of the struggle for freedom thus, helping to prolong the sufferings of the Goan people once partners in the common struggle for your country's freedom.

The most recent instance of support to Portugal as against the Movement for colonial freedom in Goa, is the reported statement of Pakistan's Minister of the Interior, Mr. Ghulam Ali Talpur, who stated in Madrid that Goa belonged to Portugal and that the population of Goa wanted to remain Portuguese. This latest statement is tantamount to saying that if any foreign power is in possession of another country 6,000 miles away, then that territory belongs to that colonial power. If this criterion could have been applied to our situation 12 years ago, Pakistan would not have been a sovereign country and not even come into being.

We submit that all these attitudes do not become the sentiments of a people just freed from colonialism. In the struggle from imperialism the people of Goa ask for nothing more than the sympathy and the goodwill of Pakistan. No exterior considerations should weigh when assessing the freedom struggle for liberation, except the merits of the issue and the necessity to reduce the areas of tension caused by suppression by a fascist colonial power. The current history of West Asia is an instance that should be avoided.

We appeal to your Excellency to convey to your Government in Pakistan the great sorrow and resentment of the people of Goa who rather than being aided by a people suffering from similar degradation only recently, have seen the Goan Freedom Movement obstructed in favour of a fascist colonial power in whose regime there is not the slightest of freedom, and whose living standard is the lowest in Europe. Where the Goan people expected positive support in their freedom struggle they have witnessed only support to Portugal in its repression. If your Government cannot do anything in the way of helping our Movement, we pray that at least you leave the issue strictly alone.

Below copies of a letter No. 1 11(70)-PIII/57, dated the 5th December 1957 from the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, and its accompaniment.

Very Urgent

No. MEC-6757/C-10732-E,

Political and Services Department,
Sachivalaya, Bombay,
Dated 13th December 1957.

Secret

Forwarded with compliments to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay with a request that a detailed report on the alleged incident on the 26th November 1957 may kindly be furnished to this department at a very early date for transmission to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs.

(Signed)

Assistant Secretary to the Government
of Bombay, Political and Service
Department.

Secret & Very urgent

No. 1/Por/57.

Office of the Deputy Inspector
General of Police, C.I.D.,
Bombay State, Gamadia House,
Warden Road,
Bombay-26, 2nd January 1958.

To :

The Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
P. and S. Department, Sachivalaya,
Bombay.

Sub.—Demonstration by Goans.

Reference Government endorsement No. MEC 6757/C-10732-Ea, dated the 13th December 1957, on the subject noted above.

Necessary report in this connection was submitted to Government *vide* this office letter No. 1/POR/57, dated 26th November 1957 addressed to the Special Officer to the Government of India, M.E.A., Bombay, a copy of which is attached herewith, for ready reference.

(Signed)

Additional D.I.G.P. C.I.D. B.S.

Below S.B.I., C.I.D., I.R. No. 185/SS, dated 9th January 1958.

Sir,

This may now be returned to Portuguese Branch for record as desired by that Branch.

(Signed)

Copy of a Secret letter No. F11(70)-PIII/57, dated the 5th December 1957 from the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi (3).

Subject.—Alleged demonstration in front of the office of the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan at Bombay on the 26th November 1957.

I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a Note No. 13 (96)P/55, dated the 29th November 1957 received from the Pakistan High Commission on the subject mentioned above, and to request that a detailed report on the alleged incident on 26th November 1957 may kindly be furnished to this Ministry at a very early date.

Copy of a Secret letter No. 13(96)P/55, dated the 29th November 1957 from the Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, New Delhi addressed to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs and has the honour to invite the Ministry's attention to their Secret Telegram No. 30394, dated the 19th August 1955, in which the Government of India, while expressing their regret over the demonstrations staged in front of the Office of the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan at Bombay on the 16th of August 1955, had *inter alia*, assured the Government of Pakistan that full precautions had been taken against similar incidents in future. The High Commission is, therefore, surprised to learn that a similar demonstration though on a smaller scale, was allowed to take place in front of the Office of the Assistant High Commissioner at Bombay, on the 26th November 1957. The demonstrators, numbering about 200, were carrying black flags and were shouting slogans against Pakistan, its Government and its President. The Police evidently had prior information about the demonstration as a posse of them had arrived earlier. The demonstration continued from 13-30 to 14-00 hours.

2. In bringing this incident to the notice of the Ministry, the High Commission trusts that they would be so kind as to take effective steps to ensure that such incidents are not allowed to recur.

3. The High Commission avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry the assurances of its highest consideration.



Confidential

No. 1/POR/57

Office of the Dy. Insp. Genl. of Police, C.I.D.,
Bombay State, Gamadia House,
Warden Road,
Bombay-26.
26th November 1957.

To

The Special Officer to the Government of India,
M.E.A., Bombay.

Subject.—Demonstration by Goans.

The National Congress Goa, the Goan National Union and the Goan People's Party organised demonstrations (75) in front of the office of the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan, Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay between 1-00 p.m. and 1-30 p.m. on the 26th November 1957.

The demonstrators carried two black flags and several placards bearing nationalist and anti-Pakistan mottos and shouted similar slogans.

Nearing the end, some of the demonstrators handed over a typed memorandum voicing their feelings to an official of the Commission.

The demonstrations voiced the reactions and the feelings of the Goans to the declaration of the Pakistan Minister of the Interior in Madrid to the effect that Goa belonged to Portugal and the Goans wanted to remain Portuguese.

There was no untoward incident.

Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Statement issued by Prof. Lucio Rodrigues President, National Congress (Goa) on Goa Day. June 18, 1958.

Twelve years ago on June 18, 1948, the people of Goa, after over 400 years of Portuguese Colonialism, rose *en masse* and voiced their demand for civil liberties and the right to live like free human beings. It was a determined bid to throw off once for all the shackles of Portuguese rule in Goa. On that day the spark was struck which lit the torch of the freedom movement in Goa. The Portuguese met this Goan demand by indiscriminate and wholesale arrests and began a career of terror and police raj against peaceful Goans whose only demand was the fundamental right to be free. However, with each successive year the Goan forces of freedom strengthened themselves and met the challenge of Fascism, by courting imprisonment, torture and death, in order to vindicate the inviolable right of the people to be free. Hundreds of young men and women answered the call of NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA), cheerfully, and offered themselves as willing victims on the altar of freedom. They suffered and sacrificed their all in order to win their birthright.

On this day, on behalf of NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA), I pay a tribute to their heroism and devotion to the cause. Many of these young men and women have died that we might live. To the many known and the far too many unknown martyrs to the cause of Goa, both Indians and Goans, I humbly offer our appreciation and admiration for their noble sacrifice. To those who are still undergoing the bitter trial of incarceration, I send our love and admiration for their courage and their fortitude, with a prayer for their early release. To the dead and living fighters we assure our undying resolve not to rest till the doors of the prison-house in Goa are opened and Goa becomes the home of the free.

Many of these brethren of ours have been released and are among us in Bombay to-day. They gave their all in order to redeem us from our weakness and our apathy. They surrendered their future in order to achieve a free and human present for us. They have come back to us spiritually rich, with the riches of selfless suffering and pure idealism. It is our duty to rehabilitate them materially, with shelter, food, clothes and employment. On this memorable day, we appeal to the people of Bombay and of India to help us in helping them to re-establish themselves in the social milieu to which they belong. They have squandered their all for our sake, to win us the glory of freedom. Let us

not be wanting in gratitude and our obligation towards them. NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA) will gratefully, record any assistance offered to these young men and women which will help them to rehabilitate themselves.

Though there is an apparent lull on the homefront, the inevitable processes of history are marching towards the conclusion we fondly wish for. For the first time in three decades, the recent Presidential election in Portugal has revealed to the free nations of the world, the policedom that rules Portugal in the name of Christian Civilization. It was quite in the irony of things that General Humbeto Delgado, who assisted in the setting up of the dictatorship 30 years ago, should be today the symbol of the submerged democratic forces in Portugal, trying to assert themselves firmly and finally. In General Delgado the time-spirit is manifesting itself. The victory of Dr. Salazar's candidate is in the nature of a pyrrhic victory. For once the mark of political righteousness has been torn from the face of the Dictator. The world knows his pretensions and evasions now more than ever. How long can the world of fascism and colonialism go about in the cloak of democracy and civilization? This is the beginning of the end. The victory of the Government candidate is only a writing on the wall. The hundreds of innocent Goans and Indians who have been cruelly tortured and killed, have not suffered and died in vain. The blood of Abel, brother Salazar, both cry to the heavens for justice. General Delgado has won the admiration of the free world for the heroic fight to the end which he put up against the Dictator Salazar and his minions, and it is our hope that the freedom-loving people of Portugal succeed in their attempt to establish the ways of democracy in Portugal. For, a democracy in Portugal is the best guarantee for freedom in Goa.

With the recent removal of travel restrictions between Goa and India, Goans in thousands have visited their kith and kin in Goa and kissed the soil that gave them birth. It has been a great relief, in the first instance, to breathe the sweet native air. But the joy of the Goan returning to his homeland has been marred by the shadow of the walking Portuguese terror, the *paklo* (Portuguese Soldier) in the otherwise peaceful villages of Goa. Reports from those who have returned throw light on the abnormal conditions obtaining inside Goa. Fear stalks the land. The artificial attempts to bolster up the tottering economy of Goa cannot continue for long. Behind the exterior show of metalled roads, cement concrete buildings and liberal employment, there stands the grim spectre of impending bankruptcy and economic breakdown. The boom of the mining industry is fast dying out and general trade is falling off. How long, will it all last? This question is writ large on the faces of the Portuguese in Goa.

While the Government of India was generous in removing the permit system, the Portuguese Government has put the emigrant Goan to all the rigours and inconveniences of obtaining a document *de viagem* (travel document). Returning Goans have a long tale to tell of the harassment and delay that they have been subjected to by the Portuguese officials in the securing of this humiliating document.

Goa in travail is near the end of its pangs. Forces the world over and at home point to the inevitable end FREEDOM.

The wheel of historical destiny is moving fast. On this day, we appeal to all Goans to rally their forces into one united front in order to achieve the goal for which the people's movement was launched on June 18, 1946.

On this historic day, we look forward to the speedy conclusion of our 12 year old struggle.

Girgaum Terraces,
Benham Hall Lane,
Girgaum, Bombay-4.

(Signed)
Prof. Lucio Rodrigues,
President, National Congress (Goa).

Dated June 17th, 1958.

Confidential

Immediate

No. 4599/H
Special Branch (1) C.I.D.
Bombay, 19th June 1958.

To,

The Additional Deputy Inspector General of Police,
C.I.D. Bombay State,
Gamadia House, Warden Road,
Bombay.

Reference your office letter No. 43/ADM/POR/58 dated the 18th June 1958.

I submit herewith the reports of proceedings of the two meetings which were covered by Reporters Sawant and Shivalkar, respectively on 18th June 1958.

(Signed)
Superintendent of Police,
Special Branch, C.I.D., Bombay.

Immediate

No. 43/ADM/POR-58.

Office of the Addl. Dy. Inspr. Genl. of Police,
C.I.D. Bombay State, Gamadia House,
Warden Road,
Bombay-26. 18th June 1958.

To

The Superintendent of Police,
S.B. (1), C.I.D. Bombay.

Subject.—Goa Affairs.

The “Gomantak Kranti-Din” will be celebrated in Bombay to-day on behalf of several Goan political parties.

The following public meetings are to take place :—

<i>Convener</i>	<i>Place of meeting</i>	<i>Time</i>
Azad Gomantak Dal Anti Colonial Conference and other parties.	ILI Building Thakurdwar.	6-30 p.m.
National Congress (Goa)	Forbes Gujarati Hall, V. P. Road.	7-00 p.m.

3. You are, therefore, requested to depute two shorthand reporters, one each at the two meetings to submit reports on the proceedings.

(Sd)

for Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Bombay, 19th June 1958.

Date and Time	18th June 1958; 7-00 to 8-15 p.m.
Place	Forbes Hall, V. P. Road.
Auspices	The National Congress Goa.
Subject	To celebrate the 18th June 1946.
President	Prof. Lucio Rodrigues.
Speakers	Shri Vaman Desai, Narvekar and Desai.
Audience	75 persons.
Remarks if any	Proceedings were in Konkani (no notes could be taken).

Shri Vaman Desai said that 12 years ago on this day, the people of Goa launched *satyagraha* movement under Dr. Lohia and demanded civil liberties for Goans. Since then the Goans had been fighting for freedom. Coming to the recent events, he said that the Government of India desired to solve the issue by peaceful negotiations with the Portuguese and did not care to know the demand of the Goans. While the Government removed the travel restrictions at the request of Goans, as they called it, the speaker asked why the Government was not solving the Goans' demand for freedom when they were demanding it again and again. The people of Goa had been demoralised and denationalised and were looking to the Portuguese Government for help. If he were allowed to enter Goa by the Portuguese, he would gladly go there and remove slowly demoralisation among the Goans.

Shri Narvekar also traced the history of the Goans' fight for freedom and asserted that more Goans participated in the struggle for freedom than the Indians did in their national struggle. He was surprised to see that all parties committee was formed in the Congress House on the Kashmir issue, whereas the Congress was not even willing to Co-operate with the Goa Vimochan Samiti. Referring to the Goan's demand for provisional Government in Nagar Haveli, he asked whether the Government of India would support such a Provisional Government, otherwise it would not have much force in it. He hoped that the P.M. of India would consider the Goan issue sympathetically.

Shri (Prof.) Lucio Rodrigues read but his speech as per attached copy.

At his request the house observed two minutes' silence by standing to pay homage to the martyrs.

Shri Desai also spoke in the same strain. He called on the audience to chalk out a programme of liberating Goa on this auspicious day which he felt would be the best thing they could do.

The meeting ended at about 8-15 p.m. peacefully.

*Confidential**Meeting Report*

Bombay, 19th June 1958.

Date and Time	18th June 1958 from 7-15 p.m. to 8-15 p.m.
Place	Azad Gomantak Dall Hall, Girgaum.
Auspices	Anti Colonial Conference
Subject	Goa Day
President	Shri P. T. Donde
Speakers	1. Shri Benedito Dias 2. Shri George Yaz. 3. Shri Janardan Kama.
Audience	40 persons
Remarks	

Shri Vaz said that on 18th June 1946, Dr. Lohia entered Goa to defy the ban on meetings and since that time they were observing "Goa Day". He requested Shri Donde to take the chair.

The president said that 11 years had passed since India was free but there were some foreign pockets on the Indian soil and so long they were not removed it could not be said that India was completely free.

Shri Dias said that since the beginning it was believed India was one country and Goa was not a separate part and in the Indian National Congress there was Goa National Congress and the people of Goa outside India worked in the Indian National Congress. It was believed that the Portuguese would leave India on the departure of the British but they remained behind and claimed Goa as their own territory. He said that Dr. Lohia created great enthusiasm amongst the Goans in Goa and outside Goa and since that time the Goans were fighting against the Portuguese for the freedom of Goa. He said that it was the duty of Indian Government and the Indian National Congress to try to drive out the Portuguese but they had failed in their duties. On the contrary the Indian Government had recognised the Portuguese in Goa by sending their representative in the Portuguese territory. He said that the Goans could not give up their fight till Goa was free and they would have to fight on two fronts, one front in Goa and the other front in India. They would have to bring pressure upon the Indian Government to try to merge Goa in India.

Shri Vaz during the course of his speech said that Mahatma Gandhi had said that after the departure of the British from India, the Portuguese would leave India within 48 hours as it was expected that the Portuguese had no right to remain on Indian soil. He said that it was a matter of regret that the Indian Government said that the Goans should fight for their freedom. He said that there were about 5 lakhs of people in Goa and in comparison to the population of Goa, the Goans had made more sacrifices than any part of India having the same population. He said that it was mainly the duty of the Indian Government to ask the Portuguese to quit Goa.

Shri Kamat criticised Shri Menon for saying that the Goans should fight for the freedom of Goa. He said that they were doing so but it was not possible for them to achieve the freedom of Goa singlehanded. He said that if the principles of *Panchsila* were coming in the way of taking police action against the Portuguese, the Indian Government should ask the people of India to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Goans for the freedom of Goa and he was sure that the Indian people would not lag behind as the Goans had fought for the freedom of India and many of them had made sacrifices.

All stood for a minute in memory of those who had sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Goa.

A resolution was then moved and adopted reiterating the demand that the Portuguese should leave Goa and other parts of India which were in their possession.

(Signed)

Reporter,

S.B. (I), C.I.D., Bombay.

19th June, 1958.

Secret

No. 450/NCG/POR/1958.

Office of Addl. Dy. insp. General
of Police, C.I.D.B.S., Gamadia
House, Warden Road, Bombay -26
Dated 19th August, 1958.

To

The Special Officer,
M.E.A., Sachivalaya,
Bombay.

Subject—Goan Affairs—National Congress Goa.

It is reliably learnt that Prof. Lucio Rodrigues the President of National Congress (Goa) had tendered his resignation to the Working Committee of the organization in the middle of July 1958. Since the Working Committee which was nominated by the President, was not competent to accept the same, a meeting of All Goa Congress Committee was held at the Goa Hindu Association Hall, Tribhuvan Road, Bombay on 1st August 1958, to consider this question. The reason advanced by the President for his resignation was that he did not get co-operation from the members of the Working Committee. The counter allegation of the members is that the President did not show any enthusiasm nor did he give any programme during the year and since the annual elections are approaching now he could not report to the All Goa Congress Committee any progress and to save his own face he had adopted this course. It is also felt by a number of members particularly from the Bombay Branch that the President was responsible for the cancellation of a meeting which had been arranged by them on 6th April, 1958 to observe "Smt. Sudha Joshi Day".

At their meeting on 1st August 1958 it was decided that an *ad hoc* committee be appointed and in the meantime the President be persuaded to withdraw his resignation and to continue as President of the Organization till the Annual Session in November 1958 and if he failed to do so by the 10th August 1958, the *ad hoc* committee would function from 11th August 1958. Sarvashri L. M. Lemos, Augustus, Alvares, Horadkar, M. D'Cruz and J. S. Sukhtankar are the members of this *ad hoc* committee.

Prof. Rodrigues has not withdrawn his resignation till 10th August 1958.

Sd/

for Addl. D.I.G.P.,
C.I.D., B.S., Bombay.

Below papers regarding resignation by Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, as president of N.C.G.

Submitted.

On discreet enquiries it is learnt that when Prof. Lucio Rodrigues was elected president of National Congress (Goa) on 2nd November, 1957, some of the delegates wanted to amend the Constitution of this Organization in that they wanted that all the office bearers and not only the president should be elected every year. But at the request of Prof. Rodrigues it was dropped that time and the President was given the right to appoint the other office bearers. But Prof. Rodrigues had promised at this time that he would nominate the other office bearers after consulting the other delegates. But once the presidential elections were over Prof. Rodrigues nominated members of his own choice. This was resented by many that time.

During the whole year nothing has been done by the organization and now at the annual meeting which is to be held about November 1958 the President will be required to submit a report of the activities of the organization. The President Prof. Rodrigues, it is learnt has charged the other members that they do not co-operate with him and that they have not given him the account books and other records of the organization to facilitate his work. The counter allegations are that Prof. Rodrigues was told on several occasions that the account books are with the present treasurer Shri J. S. Sukatankar and as regards other records of the organization, they were lying at their Belgaum Branch and that he could either have a look at them there or arrange to get them in Bombay, but that Prof. Rodrigues did not take any action in this matter. It is further alleged that the Bombay Branch of the organization wanted to observe April 6 as Smt. Sudha Joshi Day and other branches had accordingly observed this day. The Bombay Branch had accordingly made arrangements to hold a public meeting and sought the necessary permission from Government. But it is said that Prof. Rodrigues when asked about this meeting before granting the permission told Shri Mahboob Ahmad, Special Officer that there was no such meeting and thus the meeting could not be held. This action of the President was disliked by all the members of the organization.

Towards the middle of July 1958 Prof. Rodrigues tendered his resignation to the Working Committee. Since the Working Committee is nominated by the President, they thought that they could not take any action on this letter and hence convened a meeting of the All Goa Congress Committee (*i.e.* of the delegates) on 1st August 1958 at the Goa Hindu Association Hall, Tribhuvan Road, Bombay. About 20 persons are reported to have attended this meeting, prominent amongst them being Sarvashri L. M. Lemos (Gen. Secretary), Hodalkar (Poona Branch), Augustus Alvares (brother of Shri Peter Alvares), Sequeira, M. D'Cruz, Dias and J. S. Sukhtankar.

At this meeting the resignation of the President was discussed and it was concluded that an *ad hoc* committee be appointed and efforts be made by some of the friends of the President to persuade him to withdraw the resignation and continue as President till the new elections. If nothing was heard from the President in this regard till 10th August it was construed that the resignation was in fact accepted and the *ad hoc* committee is to continue in place of the former working committee. The following five persons are the members of the *ad hoc* committee :—

Sarvashri. L. M. Lemos, Augustus Alvares, Hodalkar, M. D.'Cruz and J. S. Sukhtankar.

Sd/
S.G.S.I. of Police,
'POR' BR.

Note on National Congress (Goa)

In the year 1946 Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia started an agitation for civil liberation in Goa and addressed a meeting on 15th June 1946 at Panjim, Goa. This movement spread throughout Goa, but the Portuguese Government perpetrated untold atrocities on the People of Goa and prosecuted the agitators before the Military Tribunal which sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment ranging from 8 to 29 years. Some of the agitators fled to India and formed two political parties namely "Gomantak Congress Committee" led by Shri Purshotam Kakodkar and the other "Goa Congress Committee" led by Dr. Rama Hegde. In the year 1947 attempts were made to bring about a fusion of these two parties and after strenuous efforts the two parties merged into one party viz, "National Congress Goa" at a conference held at Londa in June 1947. Shri Laxmikant Bhembre was elected president of this new organization. The Bombay Branch of the N.C.G. was opened in November 1947. Shri Bhembre was arrested in Goa on 18th September 1946 for defying the ban on holding of public meetings. Shri S. B. D'Silva was elected president of the Bombay Branch. In 1950 there were again quarrels among the political workers over the functioning of the N.C.G. in Bombay and a second session was held in July 1950 at Londa when Dr. J. Carvelho was elected its president. In 1951, Dr. Sanzgiri was elected president, but he subsequently nominated Dr. Bhembre as its president. Dr. Bhembre appointed Shri Peter Alvares as Vice-President and delegated his powers to Shri Peter Alvares in 1953. As Dr. Bhembre could not openly participate in politics he resigned from politics and since then Shri Peter Alvares continued as the President of the organization till 1957, without elections. The dictatorial attitude of Shri Peter Alvares was disliked by many of the N.C.G. workers and a no confidence motion was brought against Shri Peter Alvares in 1954 and a dissident group formed a parallel organization under the same name and their office was situated in the Congress House, V. P. Road, Bombay-4.

Shri Peter Alvares in consultation with some underground workers from Goa launched a *satyagraha* movement on 15th August 1954. He did not consult even the working committee of the N.C.G. before launching this movement as he depended more on the Indian help i.e., of the P.S.P. party. Accordingly he persuaded all the leftist parties and a Goa Liberation Aid Committee was formed at Poona for this purpose and a mass *satyagraha* was planned. On account of the ban imposed by the Government of India for Indians participating in this movement this mass *satyagraha* did not materialise. Still Shri Peter Alvares continued sending small batches of volunteers of Goans to keep the movement alive.

Mrs. Laura D'Souza was elected president of the dissident group of N.C.G. in 1954 and she announced that she would lead the first batch of *satyagrahis* to Goa but she never kept her word and ultimately there was great dissatisfaction among this group as well and thanks to the efforts of Dr. Rama Hegde both these groups came together in August 1957. During the elections in November 1957 Prof. Lucio Rodrigues was elected president. Prof. Rodrigues nominated Mrs. Laura D'Souza as the vice-president, Shri S. M. Lemos as Secretary, Shri J. S. Sukhtankar as treasurer Sarvashri Mahadeo Shastri Joshi, Shivaji Desai, S. S. Carvelho and Luis Gracias were nominated as the members of the Working Committee. In July 1958 Prof. Lucio Rodrigues tendered his resignation as he alleged that he did not get co-operation from the other members and the same was accepted by the All Goa Congress Committee on the 1st August 1958 and an *ad hoc* committee of the following members is formed.

1. Shri L. M. Lamos,
2. Shri Auguste Alvares (brother of Peter Alvares),

3. Shri Horadkar,
4. Shri M. D'Cruz and
5. Shri J. S. Sukhtankar.

The general elections of the Central organization are scheduled to be held on or about 14th September 1958 and the Annual Conference in November 1958.

In 1954 the members of this organization which used to work as a volunteer organization under the name of Azad Gomantak Dal also fell out as they did not agree with the policy of Shri Peter Alvares and started working an independent organization under the leadership of Shri V. N. Lawande.

This organization believes in non-violence for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. It has over 2,000 members and it is believed that the membership of this organization is the largest among the Goan political parties. It has branches at Bombay, Poona, Belgaum and Calcutta. The particulars of the Branch offices are as under :—

Bombay Branch.—The office is situated at Girgaum Terraces, 1st floor, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaum, Bombay 4. The office bearers are :—

President—	Shri Laxmidas Borkar,
Secretary—	Shri Aguste Alvares
Treasurer—	Shri M. Caitan.

Poona Branch.—The office is situated at Mane Mansion. Fergusson College Road, Poona.

President—	Shri Mahadeo Shastri Joshi,
Secretary—	S. M. Horadkar.

Belgaum Branch.—

President—	Shri Balkrishna Sirvaikar,
Secretary—	Shri S. Y. Mordekar,
Treasurer—	Shri Karmali.

Calcutta Branch.—

President—	Shri Luis Gracius,
Secretary—	Shri Felix Almeida.

As per the constitution Goans above the age of 18 years are eligible for membership and the subscription is annas eight per year. The constitution is similar to that of A.I.C.C. Delegates are elected one for each 100 members. Out of these delegates 50 percent are elected as members of the All Goa Congress Committee.

The funds of the organization have dwindled down and it is learnt that the organization owes monies to outsiders.

At present this organization has no programme as such.

The 11th Annual Conference of the National Congress (Goa) was held on 22nd and 23rd November 1958 in Bombay. On 22nd was a closed door session. The meeting on the 23rd was open and held at the Forbes Sabha Hall at Vithalbhai Patel Road.

It is learnt that the matter of persuading the International Dock Workers Federation not to serve ships touching ports in the Portuguese possessions was discussed.

It is learnt that Dr. Menino D'Souza, Waman Desai, S. B. D'Silva and Narendra Kamat wanted to move a resolution of Goa for Goans but it was dropped due to opposition from the Goa Liberation Council and others. It is also learnt that an assurance was given through Shri Peter Alvares that when agitation for the freedom of Goa was restarted sufficient funds would be available from the Railwaymen's Federation.

Copies of the Annual Report of the N.C G. and the Presidential address are appended.

A detailed report will follow—

S.P.

Addl. D.I.G.

National Congress (Goa)

Report for the year 1957-58 presented at the Annual Conference held on 22nd and 23rd November 1958.

The Report covers the period which is one of great difficulty. The previous three years had been one of great struggle and relative achievement. In contrast, the period since our last general meeting has been one of comparative quier. Nevertheless, there is no cause either to feel despondent or frustrated. While every struggle that is launched must have for its objective some measure of fulfilment there are occasions when all this is never possible and the leadership of the struggle has to shoulder the burden of the resultant lack of activity and the inevitable charges and criticisms that usually follow. The National Congress (Goa), however, need never fear any accusations levelled against it as all the major struggles launched for freedom since 1946 were always on its own initiative. Its members contributed the most towards the total quantum of sacrifice and its call for service was the only one that the Goan freedom fighters pay attention to. The National Congress (Goa) desires to assure the people in Goa and in India that the present is only a necessary interval between two struggles, the next phase to be taken up when opportunities are created or when they come by themselves.

The most outstanding feature of the struggle has always been the steadfast courage and patience of the Goan prisoners in jail whether they be the men in the fort of Aguada and Reis Magos, or the five women prisoners in the prison of Margao. Undoubtedly, the period of inactivity must have a greater effect upon them than upon those outside; and yet in spite of the long period since the active phase of the struggle ceased they have held on to their sufferings with a courage that is exemplary and with a faith in their sacrifices that will ultimately move even the most hardened of colonialists.

Their continued incarceration under very difficult conditions in which they are locked up for the entire day is a challenge not merely to the Government of India but also to the conscience of the civilized world. While the free world witnesses constant attempts to free political prisoners, there is no reference to the issue of the Goan political prisoners. Nowhere, except in hard totalitarian regimes do we today witness the spectacle of peaceful women *satyagrahis* being imprisoned continuously for the last four years, and perhaps for many more hereafter. The civilized world has these *satyagrahis* on its conscience and it must move soon to secure their release if faith in civilized standards is not to be lost entirely.

It is more than three years since the Government of India assured the people that it was seized of the matter of Goan freedom and that it would take on responsibility for its future. Following upon the *satyagraha* this was a welcome assurance, but within the three years that have since elapsed there has been no move to bring about a speedy solution of this problem it is as if the Government of India is content to allow this problem to lie dormant and to seek an opportunity only if it comes its way. It has perhaps not realised that the period of anti-colonialism that gathered intensity soon after World War II has now lost its purpose and that the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom are viewed not in the context of their right but with an eye to placate an ally whose colonial policy is involved therein. It is not until the Government of India can bring pressure to bear upon the world that any progress in this direction can be made. The unfortunate understanding that has been allowed to grow that issues of Goa's freedom are not as important or pressing as those of the Five Year Plan is erroneous. So long as the Goan freedom issue remains unsolved, thus long will the emotional integration of India be incomplete, and Goa will always remain a potential handle, at least for inconveniencing India's policy in many respects. The policy of peaceful negotiations for the settlement of any dispute must inevitably involve the setting up of a machinery for a speedy solution. The world can move forward towards the solution of disputes through peaceful means only when it is assured that force is either unnecessary or wasteful. If a dispute is allowed to drag on without any indication of measures adopted for a solution there is likely to be frustration among the people, and a recourse to the traditional methods of freedom struggle. Neither must Dr. Salazar be permitted to get away with the strategy that the means of a peaceful settlement, as advocated by the Government of India, has actually led the whole issue into a *cul-de-sac* where Dr. Salazar refuses to negotiate and the Government of India refused to do anything but negotiate. A policy of negotiation must necessarily have within it an element of compulsion to recognise the inevitability of a solution, and measures must be adopted on the international forum to compel Dr. Salazar into a position where he would recognise the right of the Goan people to freedom, and a method of peacefully granting this without any loss of prestige for either side, but rather aiming for an effect of permanent friendship between the people of Portugal and India on the basis of complete freedom.

During the period under review significant changes have taken place in Portugal. The foundations of Dr. Salazar's regime have been challenged for the first time by no less a person than one of his own colleagues, and by large sections of the Portuguese people. In a dictatorship this is significant, and the Goan people will have the satisfaction and the hope that they have among the Portuguese people large sections who will ceaselessly struggle to oust Dr. Salazar from the position of a dictator and bring about major changes in his policy. It is more than significant, it is a vindication of our struggle, that in Goa also in spite of their terror, fresh memories of the brutalities committed by the Portuguese in efforts to stifle the *voice* of freedom, and the *remainder* of the prisoners in Goa Jails that a significant per cent of the votes were cast fearlessly for the opponent of Dr. Salazar in spite of threats and reprisals for those who dare to oppose its regime. This should bring home to the dictatorship in Portugal that not for long can he hope to obtain a vote even under pressure of the terror and of the prison.

Another significant development that followed the elections in Portugal is the realisation that the regime of Dr. Salazar is of the character of a dictatorship and that the democracies have very little in common with his regime. The Christian nations also are now asking the question whether Dr. Salazar's continuance in Goa can be seriously justified on the ground of his civilizing

mission. The foundations of Dr. Salazar's regime have been shaken both politically and on religious grounds. This is the opportunity for the Government of India and the Goan people to press home their advantage and force the free world to bring Dr. Salazar around to a recognition of the right to freedom of the Goan people. For the free world also has a duty towards Goa for the free world rests on the principle of freedom for all people. The continuance, or the acceptance of the continuance of colonial rule anywhere, is a negation of the very principle on which the free world is bound together. Any support to any colonial power hereafter must seriously work against this principle and lead the free world on to a destruction of itself.

Since our last Annual Conference we have welcomed back from long years of exile Shri Divakar Kakodkar and Shri Ignacio Loyola. Their presence amidst us reminds us painfully of those who are still in exile and whose future is uncertain. We can only hope that the Government of India and the free world will exert their utmost to restore them back to their country. In the same manner we extend warm welcome to those prisoners released from the Goa jails and hope that their presence in our midst will help to remind us about those still languishing in jail.

The happiness in seeing two of our exiled colleagues back amongst us has been somewhat dampened by the sad and sudden death of the leader of the Goan freedom movement, Shri T. B. Cunha. He was undoubtedly the greatest amongst us, and we are all aware of the ceaseless support and encouragement that we received from him and the constant advice and leadership which he always supplied in order to put the struggle of Goa on the international map. His work will always live amongst us as of the greatest significance for we truly consider him as the founder of the Goan liberation movement. Tributes to him will always fall short of realisation if we do not pledge ourselves to actively bring to a fulfilment, the faith with which he inspired us, and the dedication with which he approached the cause of Goa's freedom.

While some of these developments are happening we can only remind our selves that the primary responsibility for the struggle must lie on the Goan and Indian people. The National Congress (Goa) must be ever vigilant to seek and create opportunities whereby the struggle can be furthered at the earliest opportunity. Our thanks are due to all those who have stood by our faith in freedom and have helped us in many manners during the difficult period through which we are passing. We can assure all concerned that we shall never rest until freedom is won and that we shall revive the struggle in the manner best possible to achieve a speedy and happy solution.

(1) During this period we have witnessed the withdrawal of restrictions on travel to and from Goa. We welcome this move by the Government of India which is a step in the right direction.

(2) The withdrawal of the *satyagraha*, a decision taken in the large interests of the struggle has been a momentous one for the National Congress (Goa) and we hope it will provide the opportunity for negotiation by the Government of India for the early release of those still in jail.

Bombay, 24th November 1958.

Date and Time	23rd November 1958, 10-45 p.m. to 12-00 p.m.
Place	Forbes Hall, V. P. Road.
Auspices	The National Congress (Goa).
Subject	The 11th Annual Conference.
President	Shri Sukhathankar (in absence of Shri Louis Gracias President elect.)

Speaker	Shri Laxmidas Borkar. Shri Peter Alvares. Shri Auguste Alvares
Audience	About 50 persons.
Remarks, if any	The audience was very poor and this was reflected in their deliberations.

Shri Laxmidas Borkar, reviewing the situation since the last conference held, said that the Goans were witnessing a period of lull and quiet after the last great non-violent struggle in 1954 in Goa, and that this should not be taken as a sign of frustration or disappointment. They, therefore, must keep the final goal of liberating Goa before them and work hard in the next 2/3 years by making preparations for the ultimate struggle, which would be started soon.

He then announced Shri Louis Gracias' inability to attend the conference as he was lying in the hospital in Calcutta. He, however, sent his presidential speech which would be read in the conference. The speaker introduced the President as a patriotic and sincere worker for the Goan freedom movement who had held several meeting in Calcutta to propagate the cause and enlist sympathy of the Goan struggle in 1954 struggle.

Shri Laxmidas Borkar read out the first condolence resolution on the sad demise of Shri T. B. Cunha, which was passed by all standing in silence for a minute.

Shri Borkar moved the second resolution on the need to preserve faith in the Goan freedom movement and to make concerted efforts for Goa's liberation.

Shri Peter Alvares, seconding the resolution, took stock of the situation after the last freedom movement.

Referring to the inactivity on the Goan front, he said that this inactivity should not be taken as frustration. In every freedom movement this situation was created but again after a lapse of few years another freedom movement sprung up with more vigour and strength. He then referred to the freedom struggles started in Algeria, Cyprus, Matsu, and said that fresh anti-colonial struggles had not been started. In this context he referred to the proposed Anti-Colonial Rally to be held in January or February 1959 in Bombay and said that this rally was being held to build up the movement and to bring pressure upon the Government of India to take its responsibility as per its assurance. He observed that the Government of India was not regarding the issue of Goa to be as important as that of the Second Five Year Plan. He remarked that there would be plans one after another as there was no end to the economic process in the country and that various problems had to be tackled simultaneously by the Government. If the Government did not wish to take up the Goan issue, the people should generate pressure by which the Government would take up the issue on the "international plane". He then referred to his talks with the Indian Ambassador in America, Shri M. C. Chagla, and said that he impressed upon the Ambassador the necessity of getting release of the Goan political prisoners and solution of the Goan problem and requested him to take up the issues with the American Government. However, he was not much hopeful how far the American Government would be willing to do justice to Goa.

Referring to the recent important developments in Portugal, he said that in the recent elections in Portugal, Dr. Salazar met opposition from General Delegate, in whose favour there was large scale public manifestation. According to the speaker, the second important event was refusal of visa to Mr. A. Bevan of England to visit Portugal and the third development was the political change in Pakistan which supported Portugal against India. He hoped that General Ayubkhan would not support Portugal.

Referring to Goan freedom movement, he said that there was less support for the freedom struggle than there was before. Some Goan leaders, like Shri Waman Desai, Dr. Menius D'Souza, Narendra Kamat, were trying to revive the old issue *viz.*, Goa for Goans, and wanted to raise the issue in the forthcoming rally to be held in January or February. National Congress Goa, Goan Peoples' Party, and Goan Liberation Council vehemently opposed this view point as a result of which these people had decided to delete the issue. He then asked the Goans to keep the National Congress, Goa and its membership intact and to canvass the idea that if Government of India did not take up the liberation of Goa issue, N.C.G. would have to take up the issue as it did twice before. Every member should be proud that the organisation had led two struggles. He requested them to enrol members and raise membership to 5,000 in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, which would not be difficult. He himself was trying to get financial help and he was assured by the Railwaymen of financial help when they started the freedom movement.

Referring to the financial position of N.C.G., he said this organisation had lot of financial liabilities which it had to settle during the year. The Goa Liberation Army, when it was in Bombay, was fed and consequently N.C.G. had to incur a debt of Rs. 2,500. The political prisoners, who came to Bombay, were to be rehabilitated and were provided with jobs. In Sawantwadi and Suppa N.C.G. had to borrow money which debt had to be settled.

He also referred to the arrest of Dr. Laura D'Souza in Goa by the Portuguese and remarked that Portuguese were still alive to the issue of Goan struggle.

He also assured the Goans that transport workers in this country would help and come forward ones again. In this connection, he informed the audience that he was trying the International Transport Workers' Federation to take interest in the issue of Goa, and not to permit any ship to touch Goa.

After Shri Peter Alvares' speech, the conference ended at about 12-00 p.m.

N.B.—Earlier the President's speech was readout by Shri Auguste Alvares.

(Signed)

No. 384/POR/58

Office of the Additional D.I.G.P.,

C.I.D., B.S.,

Gamadia House, Warden Road,

Bombay-26.

25th November 1958.

4th Agra Hayana 1880

To :

The Special Officer, M.E.A.,

Sachivalaya, Bombay.

Subject.—National Congress (Goa).

The 11th annual conference of the National Congress (Goa) was held in Bombay on 22nd and 23rd November 1958. The first day was devoted to a closed session. The open session on the 23rd was attended by about 50 persons and presided over by Shri Sukhtankar in the absence of Shri L. Gracias who was ill.

A copy each of the presidential address and the annual report is appended for your information.

(Signed)

For Additional D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Confidential

No. 3559/H
Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 4th June 1959.

To

The Assistant to the D.C.P.S.B.L.C.I.D.
"POR" Branch, Bombay-26.

Subject.—Goa Affairs.

Reference your confidential memos Nos. 1589/ADM/POR/59, dated 27th May 1959 and 1632/ADM/POR/59, dated 30th May 1959 on the above subject.

The report re: meeting at I.L.I. Hall held on 31st May 1959 submitted by Shri Shivalkar is enclosed herewith.

This office has no reporters who know Portuguese or Konkani language and it is not possible to submit more detailed reports of Konkani speeches.

(Signed)
Assistant to the D.C.P.
Special Branch (I), C.I.D., Bombay.

Confidential

No. 1589/ADM/POR/59,
Office of the Additional D.I.G.P.,
C.I.D., B.S., Gamadia House,
Warden Road, Bombay-26
Dated 27th May 1959.

To

The Assistant to the D.C.P., S.B.(I),
C.I.D. Bombay.

A public meeting of Goans is to be held at the I.L.I. Hall, Dabul, Bombay on 31st May 1959 at 10-30 a.m. to condemn the inhuman sentences recently passed by a Court in Goa on Goan nationalists.

2. A second meeting of Goans is scheduled to be held on the same day (31st May 1959) at 5-00 p.m. at Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay in honour of Smt. Sudha Joshi recently released by the Portuguese.

3. Kindly arrange to depute a shorthand Reporter to attend the two meetings and to report on the deliberations. The speakers at these meetings are expected to address in Marathi, Konkani or English.

4. Smt. Sudha Joshi is due to arrive at V. T. from Poona at 10-00 a.m. on 31st May 1959 where she would be accorded a reception. According to the programme she is to be thereafter taken in procession to the office of the National Congress, Goa, at Benham Hall Lane, Girgaum, Bombay-4.

(Signed)
Assistant to the D.C.P., S.B. (I),
C.I.D., Por. Branch, Bombay-26.

Meeting Report

Bombay, 1st June 1959.

Date and Time	31st May 1959; 11-00 a.m. to 12-45 p.m.
Place	I.L.I. Hall, Thakurdwar.
Auspices	Goans of Bombay.
Subject	To protest against the savage sentences of imprisonment on Goan freedom fighters.
President	Dr. Arthur D'Sa.
Speakers	Dr. Rama Hegde, Shri J. M. D'Souza, Shri S. N. D'Silva, Shri Joachim Alva, M.P., Shri Appa Karmarkar.
Audience	About 200 Goans
Remarks, if any	Speeches of Appa Karmarkar and Joachim Alva were emotional and received ovation from the audience.

Dr. Arthur D'Sa, explaining the purpose of the meeting, informed that the meeting was called with only one purpose, *viz.* to express condemnation and protest against the heavy sentences imposed on Goan Freedom Fighters by the Military Tribunal in Goa, which ranged between 12 years to 1 year. The speaker agreed that mere protest meetings would not be useful, but he believed that the moral stands were not measured by the yard stick of immediate material gain. It was important that the public of India and the world should know that all Goans of different political ideologies were united on certain issues. He then welcomed the two Goan patriots, *e.g.* Shri Appa Karmarkar and Dr. Nagesh Desai, who had come out after undergoing along and heavy sentences. Referring to the situation in Goa under the Portuguese rule, the speaker observed that all people were aware of what was happening in Goa and Portugal itself. The regime was the fascist rule, similar to Hitler and Mussolini in Germany and Italy, respectively. He further said that the Portuguese were clever not enough to see the lessons of history or the writings on the wall. He felt sure that the Portuguese would have to quit one day or other.

He then read out the resolution which was put to vote and declared unanimously passed.

Dr. Rama Hegde, speaking in Konkani, regretted that the Goans do not care even to condemn the Portuguese barbarity and savage rule. They should do so at least on humanitarian grounds. If the Goans were aware of their duties, there would not have been a massacre of Goan patriots in 1954. He also referred to the Indian miners in Goa and said that these miners were assuring the Portuguese that the Government of India would not take any action as long as they were there in Goa.

Shri J. M. D'Souza observed that the Prime Minister of India and his External Affairs Department were not doing anything about the liberation of Goa, while they were keen on the other international issues. He called on the Goans to remind the Prime Minister and the Government of India about the Goan problem and they should warn the Portuguese Government to quit Goa immediately. He also condemned the smuggling which is going on a large scale on Goa-India border and said that the Goans would point out smugglers to the Government.

Shri S. B. De' Silva remarked that the action of the Portuguese in imposing savage sentences was against the sense of elementary human justice which ought to be condemned. If any one remained silent against this inhuman act, he was liable to be understood as either indifferent to the sufferings of his countrymen or a supporter to the Portuguese Government. He wondered that no protests were made in the world regarding the ruthless way of suppression of Goan freedom movement. According to him, Portugal was not fit to sit in the committee of nations along with the leaders of democracy. He said that the military tribunals are held only in special and emergency circumstances which was not the case in Goa. Still the military tribunals were appointed and heavy sentences were awarded without trials. He appealed that the International Court should condemn the Portuguese action.

Shri Joachim Alva, M. P. said that he had seen border disputes between Germany and Poland and Russia and Turkey similar to border disputes in India. He called upon the people to change their language habits and try to learn Marathi, Sanskrit languages. He was of the opinion that unless the border trouble is ended, the problem would not be solved. He said that the moral duty fell on the Catholics of Goa and India. There was no future for the Goan Catholics in India unless they came out, and shouldered the responsibility. The Church should also play its part in the liberation of Goa, he remarked.

Shri Appa Karmarkar reviewed the situation in Goa since 1946, when the liberation struggle started. He was of the opinion that the Goans should take stock of the previous struggles and then chalk out a programme of action. The Goans were slaves and as such they must resist slavery. This was the stand the Goans had to take. According to him, there were favourable circumstances prevailing in Goa, and the Goans should make full use of them in liberating their motherland.

Shri Waman Desai congratulated Smt. Sudha Joshi for her release and safe arrival in India from Goa.

With a vote of thanks, the meeting ended at about 12-45 p.m. peacefully.

Secret

No. 1718/ADM/POR/59.
Office of the Addl. Dy. Insp. Genl.
of Police, C.I.D., Bombay State,
Gamadia House, Warden Rd., Bombay-26.
Dated the 5th June 1959.

To

The Asstt. to the Dy. Commissioner of Police,
S.B.(I), C.I.D., Bombay.

Subject.—Goans' Public Meeting.

The Goan National Union is holding a public meeting of Goans at Cross Maidan, Dhobitalao, at 5-30 p.m. on the 7th June 1959 to appeal to the Prime Minister to avail of the mediation of U. K. Prime Minister in the Goan problem.

2. Kindly arrange to depute a shorthand reporter to attend the meeting and to report on its deliberations.

(Signed)

For Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Confidential

No. 170/ADM/POR/59.
Office of the Addl. Dy. Pnspr. Genl. of
Police, C.I.D., Bombay State, Gamadia
House, Warden Road, Bombay-26,
dated the 4th June, 1959.

To

The Asstt. to the Dy. Commissioner of Police,
S.B.(I), C.I.D., Bombay.

Reference this office letter No. 1632/ADM/POR/59. dated the 31st May 1959, regarding Goans public meeting in Bombay.

2. Smt. Sudha Joshi will now arrive in Bombay on the 6th June 1959. She will be accorded reception jointly by the National Congress, Goa and the Goa Vimoehan Sahayak Samiti at the V. T. Station at 10 a.m. on that day. The two Organisations will felicitate her at a public meeting at Shivaji Park at 5-30 p.m. the same evening.

3. The Goan Marathi fortnightly "*Dudh-Sagar*" will also receive Smt. Sudha Joshi at its Office at Tribhuvan Road at 5-30 p.m. on the 8th June 1959.

4. Kindly arrange to depute a shorthand reporter to attend the Shivaji Park meeting on 6th June 1959 and to report on its deliberations.

(Signed)
for Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Secret
Immediate

No. 2381/H,
Spl. Br.L, C.I.D.,
8th June 1959.
Bombay, _____
18th Jyth 1881.

To

The Assistant to the D.C.P.S.B.I., "POR" Branch, Bombay-26.

Subject.—Goa Affairs.

Reference your memos. Nos. 1701/ADM/POR/15-9. dated 4th June 1959 and 17/8/ADM/POR/59, dated 5th June 1959 on the above subject.

The report re : meeting at Shivaji Park submitted by Shri Pawaskar is attached herewith. The other meeting at Cross Maidan did not take place on 7th June 1959.

(Signed)
Assistant to the D.C.P.S.B.I C.I.D., Bombay.

No. 1780/POR/ADM/.59.
Office of the Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.,
Gamadia House, Warden Rd., Bombay-26.
Dated 11th June 1959.

To

The Assistant to the Dy. Commissioner of Police,
S.B.(I), C.I.D., Bombay.
Subject.—Meeting reports concerning Goa Affairs.

Reference your letter No. 4730/H, dated the 10th June 1959 on the subject mentioned above.

2. As desired by you I am returning herewith the two reports forwarded by you with your letter cited above.

(Signed)
Asstt. to the D.C.P., S.B.(I),
Por. Br. C.I.D., Bombay-26.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 10th May 1959.

Date and Time	9th June 1959 from 9-45 p.m. to 10-45 p.m.
Place	Ahuja Hall, Behind Hindmata Cinema, Parel.
Auspices	Residence of Naigaum locality.
Subject	Reception to Mrs. Sudhatai Joshi.
President	Shri P. M. Bapat <i>alias</i> Senapati Bapat.
Speakers	Smt. Ahilya Rangnekar, Smt. Sudhatai Joshi,
Audience	500 persons. Along with Smt. Sudhatai Joshi,
Remarks	Smt. Indirabai Karmarkar, was also given reception by the residence of Naigaum.

Shri Bapat (President) said that unless Goa was freed from the yoke of Portuguese, India would not be satisfied. He explained the past history of Portuguese Goa and said that he himself and Nana Saheb Gore had also gone for offering *satyagraha* there. The problems of Goa and Kashmir must be solved by the Government.

Smt. Ahilya Rangnekar explained the condition of Smt. Sudhatai Joshi's family and said that Sudhatai had done much sacrifice for liberating Goa. She said that Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan and Shri Pandit Nehru had sent congratulatory letters when she was released from Goa jail. She requested the Chief Minister that only congratulation would not be sufficient and that he should try and move the Central Government to take steps in the matter. She assured Smt. Sudhatai Joshi that when Goa movement would start again, the ladies would take part in that movement and the incomplete work of Mrs. Sudhatai Joshi would be completed and that now she should not go again in Goa for offering *satyagraha*.

Smt. Sudhatai Joshi said that she had done her duty. It was the tradition of Maharashtra Mahilas. She then explained the harassment made by Portuguese Police on the *satyagrahis* and said that there were still more *Satyagrahis* lying in jail and that they should be released immediately. She further said that Smt. Shantabai Hegde gave a curt reply to the court when she was asked by the Court as to why she was offering *satyagraha* when she said that Every Manila *satyagrahi* would fight for the liberation of Goa and if the atrocities made on Mahila *satyagrahis* were not stopped, the Mahila *satyagrahis* would fight with Portuguese with arms. She thanked the people for giving her reception.

Secret
Immediate

No. 5350/H
Spl. Branch (I), C.I.D.,
17th August 1959.
Bombay —————
26th shraravan 1881.

To
The A.D.C.P., POR BRANCH,
Gamadia House, Bombay-26.

Subject.—Reception to Smt. Sudha Joshi on 14th August 1959 and 16th August 1959.

Reference Telephonic message on 14th August 1959 on the above subject.

The two reports on the above subject submitted by Reporter Shri Pawaskar and P.N. 5487/K are enclosed herewith as desired.

(Signed)
Assistant to D.C.P.S.B.(I), C.I.D., Bombay.

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 19th August 1959.

Date and Time	17th August 1959 from 9-45 p.m. to 10-45 p.m.
Place	Tilak Mandir, Vile Parle.
Auspices	By the Residence of Vile Parle.
Subject	Goa Satyagrahi.
President	Smt. Shailaja Karandikar.
Speakers	Shri Lagu. Shri Madhukar Rao Mahajan. Smt. Gangutai Bapat. Shri Nanda Patkar. Smt. Pendse. Shri Ratubhai Desai. Shri Ashok Joshi. Smt. Sudhatai Joshi.
Audience	About 300 persons.
Remarks	A purse of Rs. 301 was presented to Smt. Sudhatai Joshi.

All the speakers congratulated Smt. Sudhatai Joshi and opined that the Indian Government should free Goa from Portuguese yoke. If the Government of India did not want to solve Goa problem, the people would take up this issue in their hand. Unless Goa was freed from Portuguese yoke none would say that India was a free country.

Smt. Joshi said that the treatment given by the Portuguese was far better than the treatment given by the Britishers to the political leaders who were fighting for the National freedom. She further said that the amount would be utilised for the *satyagrahis* who became homeless in this movement.

Shri Patkar, Corporator said that the people of Maharashtra were fighting for achieving the goal of Samyukta Maharashtra in the same manner, the people of Maharashtra should fight for Goa also. Shri Joshi said that the present rulers were giving more brutal treatment than that of Portuguese, to the *satyagrahis*.

Bombay, 3rd October 1959.

Date and Time	2nd October 1959 ; 10-45 a.m. to 11-50 p.m.
Place	Sunderabai Hall.
Auspices	The Goan Political Convention.
Subject	Convention.
President	Shri Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister.
Speakers	Smt. Violet Alva, Sarvashri Divakar Kakodkar, V. D. Chitale, S. G. Sardesai, Madhukar Mahajan, G. P. Hatheesing.
Audience	About 300 persons.
Remarks, if any	For the first time, the three main organisations, National Congress (Goa), Azad Gomantak Dal, the Goan People's Party came together. The convention seemed to have been dominated by the communist and communist sympathisers.

Shri Divakar Kakodkar, welcoming the Chief Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, Smt. Alva, Dy. Home Minister, Government of India, and other guests, said that the convention would discuss and take major decisions regarding the "future of Goa". He said that there were 1,60,000 Goans in Bombay City, upon whom a great responsibility of chalking out a programme for liberation of Goa had fallen. Regarding the "Quit India" resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in Bombay, he said that the Goans would have to give serious thought to the implementation of this resolution completely and hoped that the spirit of the Father of the Nation would guide the Goans, in the difficulties that were lying ahead.

Shri Y. B. Chavan, speaking in Hindi, inaugurating the Convention, said that he was glad that all the Goan political parties had come together on an auspicious occasion like Gandhi Jayanti and hoped that this unity would be maintained forever.

Referring to the difficulties undergone by the Goans he said that they should consider the legal aspect from the international point of view. He remarked that Goans were Indians and that they would remain so. He reminded them that they belonged to a country (India) which had attained international dignity and status and that the Goans should not forget that they were the citizens of a respected nation.

The Chief Minister emphasised the need for a strong unity among the Goans which was essential for the success of their movement. He reminded Gandhiji's policy of bringing together various forces on a common programme from which the Goans could take a lesson.

Smt. Alva, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, appealed to the Goans to express their views in their mother tongue, Konkani, and resolve that they all speak in Konkani for all public functions. She stated that Marathi and Konkani must get equal place in Goa and condemned the Portuguese efforts to thrust their language on the Goans.

She admitted that the economic sanction of the Government of India had not been successful, and assured that Government would give considerations to the suggestions made by the Convention.

She emphasised the need for bringing the villagers into their movement and appealed to forget all discriminations.

Shri V. D. Chitale (Communist Party) assured full support for the liberation of Goa, which was the last foreign pocket to be liberated.

Shri S. G. Sardesai, (Communist) said that all political parties were united on one issue, viz., the liberation of Goa, and all of them had fought shoulder to shoulder for Goa's freedom. He felt that the Goans suffered more than any other people of India, and yet they were given sermons that they have to fight for the liberation of Goa. Regarding the future of Goa, he said that Government should give freedom to the people of India to liberate Goa and they would do it in a Gandhian way. He assured full support on behalf of the Communist Party of India.

Shri Madhukar Mahajan, on behalf of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, extended full support to the Goan Political Convention.

Shri Raja Hathising, on behalf of the Swatantra Party, extended fullest support to the Convention. He said that the Goans were essentially the Indians, and that they would do iniustice to themselves, if they called themselves Goans. In this context, he condemned the idea of calling as Maharashtrians, Gujeratis, instead of calling as Indians. He welcomed the unity formed by different Goan political parties and said that there ought to be one organisation conducting the liberation struggle. He hoped that the convention would force unity among Goans

After vote of thanks to the guests, the convention adjourned upto 3-00 p.m.

It was announced that the evening session would start at 3-00 p.m. and that it would be open to delegates only.

Meeting Report

Bombay, 5th October 1959.

Date and Time	4th October 1959 ; 6-00 to 7-00 p.m.
Place	Sunderabai Hall.
Auspices	The Goan Political Convention.
Subject	Liberation of Goa.
President	Smt. Braganza (sister of Beatris Braganza).
Speakers	Sarvashri Mr. Moraes, Peter Alvarcs, Prof. C. Alfonso, George Vaz, and J. M. Pinto.
Audience	About 400 persons.
Remarks, if any	The Goans assembled in the Hall welcomed the unity of all political parties for liberation of Goa.

Dr. Moraes, in his Konkani speech, referred to the successful conclusion of the Goan Political Convention and said that the Convention had taken two pledges, viz., (1) to liberate Goa and (2) to integrate Goa in India. For, achieving these two pledges, the Goans would have to unite and fight against the Portuguese rule. He reminded the Goans of the Algerians' fight for freedom against the French imperialism and said that the Goans too would have to face the Portuguese terror. He welcomed the forging of unity by the Goan political parties and hoped that this unity would hasten the liberation of Goa.

Shri Peter Alvares (National Congress, Goa) expressed his satisfaction at the forging of unity among the major Goan political parties and hoped that this unity would grow from strength to strength. He referred to the liberation struggles in Cyprus, Algeria, Mao Mao's in Africa and said that

the people of these colonies were struggling hard against the imperialists for their liberation. Even Goa fought against the Portuguese in 1913, 1946 and 1954. Since the lacunae of disunity has been removed, there was a great future for Goa. The Goans in Bombay, by forging unity among themselves, had given a reply to Dr. Salazar's propaganda that the Goans in India did not demand for liberation of Goa. Goans in India had to push the movement forward without any hesitation, and the speaker hoped that they would reach the goal faster than expected.

Prof. C. Alfonso, read out the P. M. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's message wishing success to the convention. The Goan Political convention would demand now that the Portuguese should quit Goa. There was no longer disunity among the Goans and they were one in heart, in soul and in purpose, viz, liberation of Goa. Referring to Dr. Salazar's claim that Goans in India wanted his rule, he said, that the Goans would refute this claim and tell the world unequivocally that the Goans wanted freedom. He felt that Goan problem could be solved only when they could convince the international opinion that they wanted liberty.

Smt. Braganza observed that the disunity among the Goans might be the reason for Goa's problem remaining unsolved for such a long time, but according to her, it was not entirely correct. The Goans were told again and again that they should fight for Goa and solve their issues. Now that the unity amongst the Goans is achieved, she would like to know what the Government of India would do for the Goans. In order to drive out the Portuguese from Goa, the entire people of India and Goa must join hands together because Goa was a part and parcel of India. She asked for the removal of discrimination between the Goans and the Indians for Goa was India.

Shri J. M. Pinto announced the names of members of the Goan Council formed as follows :—

Goan Council : Sarvashri J. S. Sukhtankar, Dr. Rama Hegade, S. S. Carvalho, Dr. Sanzgiri, S. Laud, D'Souza, N. S. Lavande, Prof. A. Soares, Prof. C. Alfonso, Dr. Moraes, Lobo, J. M. Pinto, Divakar Kakodkar, George Vaz, Rarnnd Dantes, Chandrakant Kakodkar, Z. Pareira, and Beatris Braganza.

The following are the non-party persons included in the above committee :—Shri Furtado, Dr. (Father) Mascarenhas, Dr. Carvalho, D'Costa, C. A. Pareira, J. S. Shintre, and Santan Pareira.

Shri Lavande of Azad Gomantak Dal called upon the Goans to support the efforts for liberation of Goa to be made by the Goan Council. He then proposed vote of thanks to the organisers and in particular to Shri Divakar Kakodkar.

Confidential

No. 1813/ADM/POR/59,
Office of the Addl. D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.,
Gamadia House, Warden Rd., Bombay-26.
Dated 16th June 1959.

To

The Asstt. to the D.C.P., S.B.(I), C.I.D., Bombay.

A public meeting of Goans is scheduled to be held at the Kamgar Sadan Hall, Mazgaon, at 10-30 a.m. on the 18th June 1959 in celebration of the 13th anniversary of Goa Freedom Fight Day.

Kindly arrange for a shorthand reporter to attend the meeting and to report on its deliberations.

(Signed)
Asstt. to the D.C.P.S.B.O), C.I.D.,
POR Branch, Bombay-26.

Confidential

Bombay, 23rd November 1959.

Date and time	21st November 1959, 5-30 to 9-00 p.m.
Place	Forbes Hall, Girgaon.
Auspices	<i>The Goan Political Sufferers' Conference,</i>
Subject	To focus attention of the authorities on the various problems facing the Goa political sufferers.
President	Smt. Menezes Braganza.
Speakers	Sarvashri V. D. Chitale, Madhu Limaye, Vaman Desai, James Fernandes, M. Harmalkar, Jana Kamat, S. A. Naik.
Audience	50 persons including Goan political sufferers.
Remarks, if any	The conference was dominated by Communist sympathisers, viz., Shri George Vaz., Divakar Kakodkar, Ramond Dantes, Smt. Beatrice Braganza.

The President, in her presidential speech, referred to released Goan political prisoners and said that after their release, they came to Bombay for help. They had to face various difficulties both financially and physically. First of all, when they came to the Indian border, the Indian Police and the Customs official harassed them suspecting them as smugglers, although they produced the necessary certificates of detention in the Portuguese jails. This was a very sorry state of affairs so far as the Goan political prisoners were concerned when India claimed Goa as a part and parcel of India and the Goans as Indians. The difficulties of these released Goans increased when they came into the Indian border. They were unable to get the necessary help either from their relatives or from Government. When they arrived in Bombay, they found that they have no accommodation to stay or no money to maintain themselves. While the Tibetan refugees were looked after by the Government of India by spending lakhs of rupees, the Goan political sufferers, after suffering inhuman treatment, were not getting any help from the Government. She felt, therefore, that it was necessary to approach Government for such help.

Shri V. D. Chitale of Poona expressed his sympathies to the Goan sufferers and opined that they ought to get some help from Government and the people.

Shri Madhu Limaye agreed that the Goan political sufferers' condition was pitiable and as such deserved all help from the people and Government. He suggested that they should approach the Goa Vimochan Samiti for financial assistance as he believed that the organisation had still some funds.

Shri Waman Desai regretted for the absence of certain political leaders at the conference and said that these leaders were trying to avoid their responsibilities. He opined that by sending memorandums to Government, their purpose would not be served. They would have to offer

satyagraha either at the Raj Bhavan or at the Chief Minister's Bungalow for giving them accommodation and help, when they could expect some help.

Shri Karmalkar and James Fernandes narrated their own grievances after release, from the Portuguese jails. Shri Karmalkar said that the Indian Police on the border went to such an extent as to take away all money the released prisoners had and then allow them into the Indian territory.

Shri S. A. Naik, Jana Kamat emphasised the need to help the Goan political prisoners to rehabilitate themselves.

Shri D'Souza of the Goa Liberation Council told as to how the Council distributed funds to the Goans *satyagrahis* and said that the Council had still some Rs. 4,000 for disbursement.

Shri James Fernandes read out the attached memorandum to be submitted to Government. This was supported by Shri Karmalkar and was put to vote and declared unanimously passed. He then moved a resolution authorising to form a committee to see that the memorandum was forwarded to Government through the Goan Political Convention and to carry out the function in the interests of Goan political sufferers.

The resolution was put to vote and declared unanimously passed.

According to the resolution, the following names were selected to work on the committee :—

1. Shri James Fernandes.
2. Shri A. Fernandes.
3. Shri Gangadhar Manjarekar.
4. Shri M. Harmalkar.
5. Shri Bhawoo Karmalkar.
6. Shri Jerry Pinto.
7. Shri Frank Moraes.

The President, in her concluding remarks, said that although the Goan political prisoners, after their release, did not expect any honour or garlands from the people, they expected honourable treatment from the Indian Police. She condemned the action of the Indian Police, who were on the Goa border, to demand whatever money the political prisoners had and remarked that the Government of India ought to punish them.

The Conference terminated at about 9-00 p.m. peacefully.

(Signed)

Confidential

Meeting Report.

	Bombay, 26th November 1959.
Date and Time .	25th November 1959, 6-30 p.m. to 7-45 p.m.
Place	Cross Maidan, Dhobi Talao.
Auspices	The Goan Political Convention.
Subject	To protest against the Portuguese occupation of Goa.
President	The Rev. Fr. H. O. Mascarenhas.
Speakers	Sarvashri Peter Alvares, George Vaz, V. N. Lawande, Souza Roy, Laxmikant Pathak (Daman).
Audience	About 500 people.
Remarks, if any	

The Rev. Fr. H. Mascarenhas said that the 25th November was the black day for the Goans because on this day the Portuguese took possession of Goa completely by slaughtering thousands of Goans. He also pointed out that the rule of the Portuguese in Goa for more than 450 years had not benefited the people in any way. There were no industries, factories or mills which would give employment to Goans. Although Goa had abundant natural resources, and the people knew knowhow, still not a single industry had sprung up under the Portuguese rule. The Goans had to go to other places in search of jobs. Under the circumstances, the only course left open for Goans is to ask the Portuguese to quit Goa.

Shri Souza Roy, on behalf of the Goan Clubs, observed that the Goan Political Convention had been formed one solid body like the All India Congress in its pre-independence period, with one aim to liberate Goa from the Portuguese rule. The Convention had requested the Government of India to relax the economic sanctions with a view to relieving the Goans from many hardships. He appealed to the Goans to unite and attend meetings in large numbers.

Shri George Vaz of the Goan People's Party denounced the claim of the Portuguese that they were in Goa for protecting the Christianity. On the 26th November, the Portuguese reconquered Goa by slaughtering thousands of Goans and as such it was the blackest day for Goans. Referring to the formation of Goan Political Convention, he said that all political parties were united to liberate Goa. He informed that a deputation of Goans waited upon the Defence Minister, Shri V. K. Menon, during his visit to Bombay recently, when he told them that the Goans should unite and fight for its liberation.

Shri Peter Alvares said that India was facing a grave crisis in that the Chinese had grabbed some northern part of India, and that it was their duty to condemn this aggression. They ought to assure the Prime Minister of India their preparedness to answer the call of duty and at the same time express their entire confidence in the Indian Army. Referring to the Defence Minister's advice, he said that although it was the primary responsibility of the Goans to liberate Goa, it was equally the responsibility of the Government of India and the entire people. He condemned the traitors who helped and were helping the Portuguese in keeping their stronghold on the Goans. The Goans ought to be vigilant in weeding out these traitors. He appealed to the people to unite and support the Goan Political Convention which would fight for Independence and Freedom of Goans.

Shri Laxmikant Pathak of Daman addressed the gathering in Gujarati.

Shri V. N. Lawande of the Azad Gomantak Dal announced that the Convention would take out a silent procession to the American Consulate and hand over a memorandum to the American Consul-General requesting President Eisenhower to use his good office to tell the Portuguese to quit Goa. The date and time of the procession would be announced later on. He also announced that funds would be collected with a view to helping the Goan prisoners who were in a pitiable position. He requested all to participate in the procession and extend full support to the prisoners by giving money.

The meeting concluded at about 7-45 p.m. after which a cultural programme was staged.

Copy submitted to :

1. The Inspector, 'H' Br. S.B.I.,
2. The Inspector, Goa Br. D.I.G., C.I.D.'s Office.

(Signed)

Secret

Reminder No. 1

No. 36/Bol./59

Office of the D.I.G.P., C.I.D.B.S.,
Gamadia House, Warden Road, Bombay-26.

Dated 19th October 1959.

Ref.—This office even No. dated 1st October 1959 regarding a report
on the proceedings of the *Goan Political Convention*.

D.C.P.-S.B.(1), C.I.D., Bombay.

His attention is drawn to the above subject and is requested to expedite the report without any further delay.

(Signed)
For D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Secret

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Superintendent of Police and Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, S.B.(I), Por. Br. for information and disposal in continuation of this office letter No. 6521/H, dated the 8th October 1959.

(Signed)
Superintendent of Police and
Asstt. to the Dy. Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch (I), C.I.D., Bombay.

Secret

No. 35/BOL/59.
Office of the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.,
Gamadia House, Warden Road, Bombay-26.
Dated 1st October 1959

DCP SB (I) CID, Bombay.

Reproduced below for information is the copy of an intercepted letter, dated 23rd September 1959 from Shri Divakar Kakodkar, 233, Khetwadi Bombay to Shri V. D. Chitale, Poona.

Goan Political Convention Convenors.

National Congress Goa.
Azad Gomantak Dal.
Goa Liberation Council.
Goan People's Party.

Office : 233, Khetwadi, Main Road, Bombay 4.
23rd September 1959.

Dear Mr. Chitale,

The Convening Committee takes pleasure in announcing that a Goan Political Convention will be held in Bombay at the Sunderabai Hall on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th October.

To you as one of those who have directly associated themselves with the Goa Freedom Movement, we extend this invitation to attend the inaugural session which will be held on the morning of 2nd October at 10-00 a.m.

We sincerely hope you will make it convenient to attend and we shall look forward to the honour of receiving you at the Convention. But in case you are unable to attend the Convention a "message" will be greatly appreciated.

With fraternal greetings.

Sincerely yours,
(Divakar Kakodkar)
Secretary,
Convening Committee.

2. It is requested to please furnish a report on the proceedings of the Goan Political Convention.

(Signed)
for D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Secret

No. 6521/H.
Special Branch (1), C.I.D.,
Bombay, 8th October 1959.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Superintendent of Police, and Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Spl. Branch (I), C.I.D., Portuguese Branch, for information and disposal.

(Signed)
Supdt. of Police, & A.D.C.P.S.B.I.,
C.I.D., Bombay.

Secret

Reminder No. 1.
 No. 36/BOL/59.
 Office of the D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.,
 Gamadia House, Warden Road, Bombay-26.
 Dated 19th October 1959.

Rer : This office even No. dated 1st October 1959 regarding a report on the proceedings of the Goan Political Convention.

D.C.P.S.B.(I), CID., Bombay.

His attention is drawn to the above subject and is requested to expedite the report without any further delay.

(Signed)
 For D.I.G.P., C.I.D., B.S.

Secret

'B' Br. S.B.(I), C.I.D.,
 Bombay, the 23rd November 1961.

Subject.—Source Report, dated 22nd November 1961.

Submitted for favour of information.

2. SGSI C. L. Patil of 'B' Branch, S.B.I., C.I.D., secured advanced information regarding the statement issued by Dr. Rama Hegde, Vice-President of National Congress, Goa. The statement seeks to clarify that Goa issue should not be exploited by the political parties in India either for the party ends or for the election propaganda.

3. The said report has been submitted separately.

(Signed)
 Inspector of Police.
 'B' Branch, S.B.(I), C.I.D.

S.P. & A.D.C.P.S.B.(I),

D.C.P.S.B. I.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA),
Bombay Branch, Central Office,
8-B, Girgaum Terraces,
Banhamhall Lane, Bombay-4.

Ref. No.

*Statement issued by Dr. Rama Hegde, Vice-President,
National Congress (Goa).*

Our members and well wishers have approached me to clarify our stand *vis-a-vis* the slogan "FREE GOA IN FREE INDIA". I take this opportunity to dispel their Tears as also to reiterate our policy right from August 1946.

"At the outset- it must be made clear that the National Congress (Goa) is the outcome of the spontaneous Mass Movement of June 1946. The freedom fighters felt the need of an organization to effectively challenge the mounting oppression of the Fascist rule of Dr. Salazar. Accordingly a meeting of the Goans inside Goa, from all the *concelhos* (talukas), numbering more than hundred, was held at Londa. (No meeting could be held in Goa for want of civil liberties), in that meeting it was unanimously decided to form a broad based front under the name of National Congress (Goa). I have had the privilege of being elected as its first president. It was on behalf of this organisation that hundreds of Goans offered *satyagraha* in 1946, 1954 and 1955.

Since then it has been our stand to keep aloof from all controversial issues, as also not to associate with any Indian Political Party issues, as an organisation. For freedom of Goa cannot be allowed to be made as a party issue as it is a national issue in the true sense of the term.

It seems some of our friends are more pre-occupied with the future set up of Goan than the very attainment of freedom. For us what is more important is the ousting of the Portuguese from Goa and integration with our Motherland-India. It is our firm conviction and belief that the future set up of Goa is to be decided by the Goans inside Goa. And, it is precisely to exercise this right, freedom, unconditional freedom is our immediate task.

With this clear cut and realistic policy how is it possible for us to join hands with so called fronts and conventions. As a Vice-President I can categorically state that so far as no decision has been taken to join any front or convention.

And lastly let me conclude with a warning that the slogan of "FREE 'GOA IN FREE INDIA'" is misleading, mischievous and shall I say suicidal?

(Signed)

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY